

corrigenda	2023/10/09	Junko Sakamoto-Gotō
p.133 fn.18	<i>deva-</i> →	<i>devá-</i>
p.135 fn.22	TS →	TS ^p
p.137 l.1	eleven ^o →	eleven^o
p.140 fn.33 l.2	6. ... <i>amuṣmai</i> →	<i>amuṣmai</i>
p.140 fn.34 l.7	to Agni or Agni-Soma →	to Agni or Agni-Soma
p.140 fn.34 l.9	[The porridge] of the Āhitāgni [should be] → [The porridge of the Āhitāgni should be]	
p.142 fn.44	RV 10,88.6 →	RV 10,88.6
p.142 fn.45 l.1	KpSp →	KpS^p
l.2	MSp →	MS^p
p.145 l.5 from the bottom	Delate {as constative}.	
p.146 fn. 62	<i>Flegen</i> , →	<i>Felgen]</i>
p.152 st. 7	(<i>fn. 79</i>) →	(fn. 79)
p.152 st. 8	was →	[was]
p.153 st. 10	ánas- →	<i>ánas-</i>
p.153 fn.86	āstāṃ →	<i>āstāṃ</i>
p.153 fn.87 l.5	Nāsatya) →	Nāsatya
p.153 fn. 87 l.6	(→10C, fn.79) →	[→ 10C, fn.84])
p.153 fn.87 l.10	*sóm-t̥io- →	<i>*sóm-t̥io-</i>
p.153 fn.88	memāmenam →	<i>menāmenam</i>
p.156 l.9	for/to(?) →	for
p.162 fn.127 l.2	AiG III-2 →	AiG II-2
p.163 l.2	<i>puroḍāśá</i> ‘cake’ (fn.20) →	<i>puroḍāśá-</i> ‘cake’ (→ fn. 20)
p.163 fn.133	<i>amā-vāsyāyām.</i> →	<i>amāvāsyāyām.</i>
p.164 st.2b	(<i>P amá</i>) →	(P <i>amá</i>)
p.165 st.3 transl.	(<i>á-agan; ...</i>) →	(<i>á-agan; ...</i>)
p.165 Title of Ex.2.	<i>paur̥ṇamāśī</i> →	<i>paur̥ṇamāśī-</i>
p.165 fn.141	Put a period at the end of the footnote.	

p.167 st.4b	(<i>P</i> [<i>K</i>])	→	(<i>P</i> [<i>K</i>])
p.167 st.4d	(<i>P</i> ...)	→	(<i>P</i>)
p.167 st.4	Put no space etween Pāda b and c.		
p.167 fn.144 l.5	śarman-	→	śarman-
p.167 fn.144 l.20	p. 165	→	165
do. l.23	<i>api</i> -śarvaré	→	<i>api</i> -śarvaré
p.175 l.3	VS(M)1,13= (K) 1,4,3 <i>agnáye</i> → VS(M)1,13 = (K) 1,4,3 <i>agnáye</i>		
p.180 l.1	KpS	→	KpS ^p
p.180 fn.173 l.1	Gehören	→	gehören
p.180 fn.173 l.3	<i>brāhamaṇo</i>	→	<i>brāhmaṇo</i>
p.181 fn.181 l.4	MSp 1,10.16:	→	MS ^p 1,10.16:
p.182 fn.182 l.1	KapS 4,8;	→	KpS ^m 4,8;
p.182 fn.182 l.2	ŚB	→	ŚB
p.184 l.14	such as,	→	such as
p.184 l.3 from the bottom	[manily ond F] → [manily ond F]		
p.185 l.8)..	→).
p.186 l.11	(→ EX. 7.4.)	→	(→ EX. 7.4.)
p.186 l.6 from the bottom	<i>bhāvati.</i>	→	<i>bhāvati,</i>
p.187 l.11	Put “...” at the end of the translation.		
p.188 fn.192 l.5	<i>brāhamaṇa-</i>	→	<i>brāhmaṇa-</i>
p.192 the last line	Erlngeng	→	Erlangung
p.193 l.1	Rhinischen	→	Rheinischen

On the prototype of the new moon sacrifice mainly based on Ṛgveda 10,85, and its development in the RV, AV and YV

Abstract

The new and full moon sacrifices are the basis of the Vedic rituals of Iṣṭi type, in which grain and dairy oblations are offered. Major importance is placed on the new moon sacrifice, which death and rebirth of the moon and mankind controls. Ṛgveda 10,85 describes the offering of Soma sap in the monthly new moon sacrifice and the yearly new moon sacrifice as the marriage of the sun goddess and the moon god in midsummer. The latter could go back to the new moon ceremony immediately after the summer solstice in the late 3rd millennium BCE. In the YV, the new moon sacrifice suffered a radical change from the worship of the moon conjunct with the sun to the worship of Indra as smiter of Vṛtra, parallel with transformation of the Indra's myth. The principal oblation was Sāmnāyā (a mixture of sour milk and cooked fresh milk) for Indra, but replaced by Puroḍāśa (a cake) for Indra-Agni in the Śrautasūtras. It is supposed that the Indo-Aryans' expansion east into and inside India made it difficult to obtain the plant Soma which grows in semi-arid zones in high terrains and caused the replacement of the oblation.

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0. The starting point of this paper

Rites at the new and full moon, performed periodically according to the moon's waxing and waning cycle, are found worldwide and belong to one of the oldest religious activities of the human beings. In ancient India, the new and full moon sacrifices (*darśa-pūrṇamāsau*) were the basic form of the Vedic rituals and considered, besides the Agnihotra (daily offering to Agni), to be obligatory for the *āhitāgni*- 'one who has set up his sacrificial fires'.¹ Between the two moon sacrifices, major importance was placed on the new moon sacrifice (*dārśa*-) by which the moon is reborn and a new month begins.² Both the sacrifices belong to the Iṣṭi (Haviryajña → fn. 5), for which the oblations are made of cereals and dairy products, and from which Soma sap³ pressed from the Soma plant (*amśú*-)⁴ is excluded (→ 1.3.).

To our surprise, however, Ṛgveda 10,85 (≈ AV[Ś] 14,1–2; AV[P] 18,1) describes the offering of Soma sap in the monthly new moon sacrifice and suggests a yearly new moon sacrifice accompanied by an animal sacrifice in midsummer, which could go back to the ritual at the new moon immediately after the summer solstice in the time around 2300 BCE (→ 3.2.4.).

This paper aims to trace the prototype of the new moon sacrifice mainly in the RV and to elucidate the process of its development from the pre-Vedic age to the early Yajurveda period.

¹ The new and full moon sacrifices should be uninterruptedly performed for thirty years (360 times respectively) according to ŚB 11,1.2.10–13, whereas the Agnihotra should be performed until the death of the *Āhitāgni*, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000b: 207 fn. 48.

² In the early Vedic calendar, the lunar month begins at the new moon (the lunar conjunction with the sun), but is shifted to the full moon in the course of time just as the start of a solar day is shifted from the sunset to the sunrise. For the solar day, s. 2.1., fn. 40. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1119f.

³ Soma sap is the most valuable oblation for the gods, esp. for Indra, and offered unmixed or usually mixed with (sweet or sour) milk, also with water or grain, cf. Hillebrandt 1927: 453–468 (1990: 300–310), Geldner IV: 245–247, Gotō 2007: 846 ≈ 2013a: 664. Soma sap seems to have a stimulating and awakening effect and bestows mankind with the superhuman ability of always being awake, even at night. Soma sap is considered as the gods' drink which brings immortality, i.e., *amṛta*- in the meaning of 'ambrosia', cf. RV 9,91.2 (*sóma*- = *amṛta*-); 8,48.12 and 9,84.2 (*sóma*- = *amṛtya*-). For the equation of Soma sap with the moon, s. 3.1., fn. 68.

⁴ The Soma plant is supposed to be Ephedra, from which the stimulant drug ephedrine is abstracted. Ephedra grows in the Steppes or semiarid zones in high terrains (→ fn. 70). Its leaves are degenerated to small scales attached to the slim stem. *amśú*- means the Soma plant, as a stem with leaves.

1. A survey of the development of the new and full moon sacrifices

1.1. R̥gveda-Saṁhitā

A periodic rite of offering oblations for Agni is mentioned in RV 1,94.4 [Agni]:

bhārāmedhmām kṛṇāvāmā havīm̐si te¹ citāyantaḥ pārvanā-parvanā vayām |
jīvātave pratarām sādhayā dhīyó-¹ gne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayām táva ||

We will bring firewood, we will make oblations (*havīm̐si* → fn. 5) for you (Agni), paying attention, at every knot-time (*pārvanā-parvanā*). Realize [our] thoughts so that [we] live further! O Agni, let us not incur damage (*riṣāmā*) in your colleagueship!

It is not clear which oblations (pl. *havīm̐si*)⁵ are prepared for Agni, nor which time is meant by the term *pārvan-* ‘knot-time’ (s. just below and fn. 6, fn. 7, fn. 8), though commonly used in the sense of ‘half-monthly knot-time’, i.e., the new and full moon. The frequency of offering to Agni leads us to assume a half-monthly offering, at the new and full moon, of butter, Agni’s special favorite, and other foods such as a cake, porridge, etc. Comparable are the oblations of butter (*Ājyabhāga*) and a cake (*Puroḍāśa* → fn. 20) for Agni in the Darśapūrṇamāsau as well as that of porridge (*odanā-*) for Agni in the Pārvanasthālīpāka, i.e., in the Śrauta- and Gṛhya-type of the new and full moon sacrifices, s. 1.3.

On the other hand, RV 1,9.1 refers to a periodical offering of Soma sap to Indra:

indrēhi mātasi āndhaso¹ viśvebhiḥ somapārvabhiḥ | mahām abhiṣṭīr ójasā ||

Come, Indra, get drunk on (sap of Soma) sprout at all knot-times for Soma offering⁶, (you) great helper with vigour!

pārvan- signifies originally ‘joint’ of a body or ‘knot’ of a plant, but also ‘knot-time’, i.e., ‘juncture’ of time as a whole body, commonly the new and full moon as half monthly knot-time (→ above RV 1,94.4), sometimes the beginning of seasons as four-monthly knot-time⁷ and the sunset and sunrise as half daily knot-time;

⁵ *haviṣ-* means originally ‘what is poured into the sacrificial fire’, hence ‘any kind of libation, sacrificial oblation’; in the RV, melted butter (*ghṛtā-*), a mixture of Soma sap with milk (→ fn. 3), etc., cf. Graßmann: s.v. *haviṣ-* (*havīm̐si* ad.loc. under ‘ausgelassene Butter’). In the later ritual system, however, *haviṣ-* designates ‘oblation made from grain or milk’, represented by the Puroḍāśa (→ fn. 20), as opposed to Soma; all the sacrifices are divided into two classes, Soma-sacrifice (*sóma-*) and Havis-sacrifice (*haviryajñā-* a. k. a. *iṣṭi-*; → fn. 5).

⁶ Cf. Geldner: “an allen Somafesttagen” with a note “nach Uv[āta] zu VS 33,25 ‘aus Anlaß der Opferzeiten’, nach Mah[īdhara] ‘und an den Somastangeln’. Vermutlich Wortspiel mit beiden Bedeutungen. Vgl. 1,94.4”; Graßmann: s.v. *soma-pārvan* “Zeit, wo Soma dargebracht wird [pārvan Opferzeit]” and s.v. *pārvan* “Knotenpunkt eines Zeitraumes, hervorstehender Zeitpunkt, wie Festzeit, Opferzeit od. Ä. (später erst Mondwechsel)”; Witzel 2007: 21 “Soma-Wendepunkt(tagen)” with a note p. 497 “... aber eigentlich: Soma-Gelenkknoten, d.h. ‘Gelenke’ zwischen den Tages-, Mondmonats-, und Jahreszeiten. Also etwa ‘Einschnitte, Wendepunkte’, die durch Rituale markiert werden”.

⁷ The four-monthly rites composing the Cāturmāsyaṇi (Vaiśvadeva, etc.) are designated

these knot-times are respectively combined with periodical sacrifices such as the new and full moon sacrifices, the Cāturmāsyaṇi and the Agnihotra, cf. ŚB 1,6.3.35f. [Pūrṇamāsa].⁸ *pārvan-* could conceivably mean also the winter and summer solstice or the spring and autumn equinox as half annual knot-time (→ fn. 15), further, one of these points as annual knot-time.

In RV 1,9.1, *somapārvabhiḥ* is considered as a wordplay of ‘with (all) knots of a Soma plant (→ fn. 4)’ and ‘at (all) knot-times for the Soma offering’ (→ fn. 6). It is, however, not clear which knot-time is meant by *soma-pārvan-* (attested only here): annually at the beginning of a year,⁹ half annually at the beginning and the middle point of a year,¹⁰ four-monthly accompanying the Cāturmāsyaṇi as a Haviryajña (→ fn. 5, fn. 7),¹¹ or monthly at the new moon as is described in RV 10,85.1–5 (→ 3.1). Annual Soma offering at the new moon in midsummer, originally just after the summer solstice, is suggested by RV 10,85.13 (→ 3.2.1, 3.2.4). For the duty of periodical and uninterrupted performance of the Soma sacrifice, see Exkursus 5. (MS^p 4,1.3:2.10–12; KS^p 21,2:3.12–14 ≈ KpS^p 47,2:2335.19; TB 3,2.3.10f.).

with parvan (Vaiśvadeva-parvan, etc.) in the TB and the Śrautasūtras. Noteworthy is GobhilaGS 2,8.19 *sāṁvatsarikeṣu parvasu* (on the commemoration rite of the son’s birth) translated in SBE vol.30, p. 59 “on the Parvan days of the year [i.e., on the last Tithi of each of the three seasons]”.

⁸ The joints (*pārvan-*) of Prajāpati as a whole year (*saṁvatsarā-*) and the corresponding sacrifices are enumerated: 35. *prajāpater ha vai prajāḥ sasṛjānāsya | pārvāṇi viśasraṁsuḥ. sa vai saṁvatsarā eva prajāpatis. tāsyaitāni pārvāṇy ahorātrāyoḥ saṁdhī paurṇamāsī cāmāvāsyā ca rtumukhāni.* || “The joints of Prajāpati, who had emitted from himself (i.e., created) the living beings, got dislocated. Two junctions of day and night (i.e., sunset and sunrise), the full moon night and the conjunction night, seasonal beginnings, these are his joints”. 36. *sa viśrastaiḥ pārvabhiḥ | nā śaśāka sāmhātum. tām etāir haviryajñāir devā abhiśajyann. agnihotrēṇaivāhorātrāyoḥ saṁdhī tat pārvābhiśajyaṁs. tat sāmādadhuḥ. paurṇamāsēna caivāmāvāsyēna ca paurṇamāsīm cāmāvāsyāṁ ca tat pārvābhiśajyaṁs. tat sāmādadhuḥ. cāturmāsyaīr eva rtumukhāni tat pārvābhiśajyaṁs. tat sāmādadhuḥ.* || “He (Prajāpati) could not arise with the dislocated joints. The gods treated him by means of these Havis-sacrifices (→ fn. 5). By the very Agnihotra, they treated the joint being two junctions of day and night. They set that (dislocated joint) together. By the very sacrifices belonging to the full moon night and the conjunction night, they treated the joint being the full moon night and the conjunction night. They set that together. By the very four-monthly sacrifices (Cāturmāsyaṇi), they treated the joint being the beginnings of each season. They set that together.”

⁹ According to the Śrautasūtras, the Agniṣtoma (basic type of Soma sacrifice) is performed annually at the new or full moon of the month Phālguna or Caitra (→ 3.2.4., fn. 113), cf. Caland & Henry 1906–1907: 1 (1.), Hillebrandt 1897: 124f. (§68).

¹⁰ Cf. the Viṣuvat and the Mahāvratā incorporated into the Gavāmayana, a one-year Soma session, which could go back to festivals around the summer and the winter solstice respectively (→ 3.2.4., fn. 113, fn. 122, fn. 125).

¹¹ The Agniṣtoma takes place at each of 4 Parvans of the Cāturmāsyaṇi (→ fn. 7) according to BaudhŚS 17,55–58, while the Prṣṭhya of 6 days are distributed among 3 Parvans (1 day to the Vaiśvadeva, 2 days to Varuṇapraghāsa, 3 days to Śākamedha) according to KātyŚS, ŚāṅkhŚS, ĀśvŚS, cf. Hillebrandt 1897: 119 (§64).

1.2. Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā

In the AV (→ Ex. 1: AV[Ś] 7,79 ≈ [P] 1,103; Ex. 2: AV[Ś] 7,80 ≈ [P] 1,102), female deities representing the night of lunar conjunction with the sun (*amāvāsyā-* → 2.1.) and the full moon night (*paurṇamāsī-*, once m. *paurṇamāsā-* AV[Ś]) respectively are worshipped with an oblation (*havīṣ-*) in the sacrifices (*yajñā-*) held the next morning (→ 2.1., fn. 40). Though the worship of Amāvāsyā and Paurṇamāsī became obsolete in the Śrauta-rituals, its traces are left in the Anvārambhaṇīyeṣṭi (TS^m) and the Pārvaṇahoma of the Darśapūrṇamāsau (TB^m), 1.3., Ex.1, fn.134, fn.135, fn.31.

In both the nights, all the gods headed by Indra assemble, most probably by Agni as the Āhavanīya; in the Amāvāsyā night, not only the gods but also the deceased fathers stay together at home (*amā*) by the Yajamāna (→ 2.1., fn. 42). This notion underlies the Upavasatha from the YV onward, s. 1.3., 2.1., fn. 46, fn. 47.

AV(Ś) 7,81 (lacking in the AV[P]; → Ex. 3) is a hymn for the newly appeared moon (*dārśa-*; not yet treated as a ritual name → 1.3.). St. 1–2 (AV[P] 18,3.2–3) are parallel to RV 10,85.18–19 (→ 2.2., 3.4.). St. 3 and 6 compare the thin new moon to *aṁśu-* ‘Soma plant (stem)’ (→ fn. 3, fn. 4) which the gods swell and consume, cf. the moon equated with *sōma-* ‘Soma sap’ in RV 10,85.1–5 (→ 3.1.). St. 5 (≈ [P] 20,41.6) presents an important view that the moon swells by the breath of the Yajamāna’s enemy.

Common to the three hymns, the moon’s function performed in reproduction of mankind and cattle is emphasized. Moreover, its close relationship with the dead is remarkable (Ex. 1 AV[Ś] 7,79.2 ≈ [P] 1,103.4; Ex. 2 AV[Ś] 7,80.1.4 ≈ [P] 1,102.2.1; Ex. 3 AV[Ś] 7,81.5 ≈ [P] 20,41.6). Due to its waxing and waning cycle, the moon seems to be considered as the transit place of the dead in their circulation between heaven and earth,¹² especially in the case of the well-doer (*sukṛt-*).

In the AV ([Ś] 7; [P] 20), there are also hymns for four minor goddesses (later *dēvikā-*) of fertility in offspring and cattle, namely Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū,¹³ who are later related to the moon’s phases¹⁴ and worshipped in the new or

¹² This concept was developed in the brāhmaṇas and integrated into the “Two-way doctrine” in the Upaniṣads, cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2015: 24–27, 56–60, 62–70, 100.

¹³ Anumati: AV(Ś) 7,20.1–6 ≈ (P) 20,4.9–10 and 5,1.5.3.4; Rākā: AV(Ś) 7,48.1–2 ≈ (P) 20,11.8–9 (≈ RV 2,32.4–5); Sinīvālī: AV(Ś) 7,46.1–3 (the former 2 stanzas ≈ RV 2,32.6–7); Kuhū: AV(Ś) 7,47.1–2 ≈ (P) 20,6.3–4. Except for Kuhū (cf. EWAia s.v. *kūha*), they are traced back to the RV: *ānumati-* ‘assent (personified)’ (10,59.6; 167.3), *sinīvālī-* ‘goddess of conception and childbirth’ (2,32.6–8; 10,184.2), *rākā-* ‘goddess bestowing wealth and brave sons’ (2,32.4–5; 5,42.12).

¹⁴ They belong to the male deity Dhātṛ identified with the moon: 1) Sinīvālī ‘prior conjunction night’, Kuhū ‘posterior conjunction night’, Anumati ‘prior full moon night’, Rākā ‘posterior full moon night’ MS^p 4,3.5:44.10f. [Devikā-havīṁsi (→ fn. 16); Rājasūya] = KS^p 12,8:170.9f. [do.; Payassthānaka] ≈ ŚadvB 4(5),6.4–6 [on the moon] (the moon is uncomplete in Anumati, complete in Rākā, visible in Sinīvālī, invisible in Kuhū) ≈ AitB 7,11.3 (no reference to Dhātṛ) [Darśapūrṇamāsau] ≈ KauS 1,29f. [Darśapūrṇamāsau] ≈ Nir 11,29.31; 2) Rākā ‘former (waxing) half-month’, Kuhū ‘latter (waning) half-month’, Sinīvālī ‘conjunction night’, Anumati ‘full moon night’ TS^p 3,4.9.6 [Devikā-havīṁsi; Kāmyeṣṭi]. Cf. Weber 1862: 229–233 (to

full moon sacrifice¹⁵ as well as in the oblation rite to them (*devikā-havīmṣi*)¹⁶ independent or integrated into the Soma-sacrifice.

The hymn for Virāj (AV[Ś] 8,10 [AV[P] lacking] → Ex. 4.) mentions a series of periodical rituals: yearly animal sacrifice, monthly ancestor worship, half-monthly sacrifice for the gods (new and full moon sacrifices) and half-daily human meal-times which imply the Agnihotra performed just before. The origins of the rituals are explained by the wandering of Virāj (female principle representing nourishment), which changes herself into one oblation after another.¹⁷

1.3. Yajurveda-Saṁhitās, -Brāhmaṇas, Śrauta- and Gṛhya-Sūtras

The rituals named *darśa*- ‘sacrifice for the newly appeared moon’ (→ 1.2., Ex. 3), *pūrṇamāsā*- ‘sacrifice for the full moon’ (→ 1.2., Ex. 2) and *darśa-pūrṇamāsāu* (du.) first appear in the YV. In spite of their designations, the worship of the moon (*candrāmās*- or *sóma*-) itself, in a specified position in relation to the sun (*sūrya*- or *sūryā*-), retreats from both the sacrifices and survives in the rite of Upavasatha, s. below. In exchange, the principal role is played by Indra¹⁸ as smiter of Vṛtra (*vṛtrahán*-), not only in the Darśa but also in the Pūrṇamāsa, based on the equivalence of Indra with the sun (→ 2.3., fn. 56) and Soma with the moon (→ 3.1., fn. 68; fn. 72) which implies Vṛtra (→ 2.3., fn. 66, fn. 67, Ex. 7.1., 7.2.).

Both the sacrifices belong to the Iṣṭi, for which the oblations are grain and dairy foods. From the description of the YV (→ Ex. 6, Ex. 7), it is obvious that the Darśa was first systematized on the model of the Soma sacrifice for Indra and that the Pūrṇamāsa was secondarily adjusted to the Darśa. It is remarkable, especially after the TS onward, that both the rituals are reconstructed on the basis of Indra’s

AV[Ś] 5,23[25]), 76, 0.176; Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 24–26. — For the two successive Amāvāsyā or Pūrṇamāsī nights, s. fn. 39, fn. 107; cf. also ŚāṅkhŚS 1,3.3–6 [Darśapūrṇamāsau]. — Dhātṛ and the four goddesses are equated with the sun (*ādityā*-) and the quarters of the sky (*dīs*-) respectively in ŚB 9,5.1.37f. [Devikā-havīmṣi; Agnicayana], cf. Eggeling vol. 4: 264, n 3.

¹⁵ VaitS 1,14–16 prescribes that, early in the morning of the new or full moon sacrifice, the hymn for Sinīvālī or that for Anumati respectively is recited each after four stanzas of the Vihavya-Sūkta (RV 10,128 ≈ AV[Ś] 5,3; [P] 5,4; cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2020: 198–202), then after the Agnihotra, the hymns for Kuhū and Amāvāsyā or those for Rākā and Paurṇamāsī, s. Ex. 1, fn. 133, Ex. 2.

¹⁶ Oblations to the four goddesses together with Dhātṛ (*devikāhavīmṣi*) are found on various occasions (→ fn. 14 MS^p 4,3.5:44.10f., KS^p 12,8:170.9f., TS^p 3,4.9.6; ŚB 9,5.1.37f.): as an independent Kāmyeṣṭi or in the concluding offerings (*udayanīṣṭi*-) of the Soma-sacrifice, e.g., Agniṣṭoma (cf. Caland & Henry 1906–1907, vol. 2: 408f.; BaudhŚS 8,22; ĀpŚS 13,24.1–5, etc.), Agnicayana (cf. Staal 2001, vol.1: 689) and Rājasūya (MS loc.cit); according to the ŚS, in the preparatory offerings of the Rājasūya (cf. Heesterman 1957: 41–45).

¹⁷ The theory and the rites of Virāj’s wandering are supposed to underlie the Five-fire doctrine, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2001: 161–165.

¹⁸ Indra as smiter of Vṛtra is well-known as early as in the RV (→ Ex. 7). In the brāhmaṇas, he appears more often as unrivaled warrior for the gods (*deva*-) in the war against the Asuras.

myth of smiting Vṛtra, inherited from the RV, but fundamentally transformed and extended in the brāhmaṇas (→ Ex. 7). It is a general conception, not only in the Darśapūrṇamāsau, but also in the Kāmyeṣṭis (→ fn. 25) and Cāturmāsyaṇi, that the oblation at the full moon leads to the success of smiting Vṛtra, whereas the oblation at the new moon restores Indra's vigor lost by having smitten Vṛtra (→ Ex. 7.2, 7.3., 7.4.).

Common to the Black and White YV, the framework of the Darśa consists of the combination of two offerings,¹⁹ first *puroḍāśa*-²⁰ 'a previous oblation of a sacrificial cake' to Agni baked on eight pieces of *kapāla*-²¹ 'potsherd', then as the very core of the Darśa, *sāmnāyā*-²² a mixture of *dadhi*- 'sour milk' and *śṛta*- 'boiled fresh milk',

¹⁹ A tendency to separate Sāmnāyā (for Indra) and Puroḍāśa (for Agni, etc.) and to distribute the former to the Darśa and the latter to the Pūrṇamāsa is shown in the view presented by Nishimura 2016: 241 (2.5.; 3.1.), 2010: 40, 43: "a certain possibility" that "the offering made in the original (or primitive) NMS [new moon sacrifice] could be sāmnāyā (only), and that that made in the original FMS [full moon sacrifice] could be puroḍāśa (only)."

²⁰ *puroḍāś*- (RV+) and *puroḍāśa*- (AV+) are commonly used as a sacrificial designation of *apūpā*- 'cake of threshed and grounded grain (barley or rice) baked on potsherds (*kapāla*-, → fn. 21)'. However, both of *puroḍāś*- and *puroḍāśa*-, formed of *purās* 'prior' and *dās* 'offer', originally mean 'previous oblation, offering preceding the principal offering' and are not limited to 'cake'. Among 24 cases attested in the RV (cf. Scarlata 1999: 220, s.v. °*dās*-), *puroḍāś*- (Geldner "Voropfer", Gotō 2007: 289, 726 "Vorspende") is used two times for living beings: a he-goat (3. *chāga*-, 4. *ajā*-) for Pūṣan before the horse offering in the Aśvamedha (1,162.3); metaphorically two kings Yakṣu and Turvaśa killed first in the battle between king Sudās and the union of ten kings (7,18.6) as if in the Puruṣamedha. In most cases in the RV, the *puroḍāś*- means 'oblation of a cake to Indra preceding the Soma offering' (3,41.3; 52.2; 4,24.5; 32,16; 6,23.7; 8,2.11; 31.2; 78.1) or 'oblation of a cake to Agni in each of three Savanas (pressing and offering of the Soma) for Indra' (3,28.1–6). — The above-mentioned original meaning is alive in the YV, e.g., MS^p 3,10.5:136.19–137.5 [Agniṣṭoma]: five, four and four previous offerings (*puroḍāśa*-) are made in the morning, midday and afternoon Savanas respectively; 1) *puroḍāśa*- 'baked cake of threshed and grounded grain', 2) *parivāpā*- 'roast unthreshed grain', 3) *dhānā*- 'roast threshed grain', 4) *karambhā*- 'paste of roast threshed grain', 5) *payasyā*- 'mixture of sour and cooked fresh milk' (cf. *āmikṣā*- and *sāmnāyā*-). For the grain foods, cf. Einoo 1985: 17–21. — ŚB 1,6.2.5f. [Darśapūrṇamāsau] gives an etymological explanation of *puroḍāśa*- from *purās* 'prior' and *dās* 'offer' and distinguishes the Puroḍāśa for Agni from the principal oblations, i.e., the Puroḍāśa for Agni-Soma at the full moon and the Sāmnāyā for Indra at the Amāvāsyā. — TS^p 2,6.3.3 emphasizes that offering an eight-kapāla-cake (*puroḍāśa*-) to Agni is indispensable both at the new and full moon: *yād āgneyō 'ṣṭākāpālo 'māvāsyāyām ca paurṇamāsyām cācyuto bhāvat, suvargāśya lokāsyābhijityai*. "That an eight-kapāla [Puroḍāśa] for Agni is (applied as) immoved both in the lunar conjunction night (and the following daytime) and the full moon night (and the following daytime), [it serves] to conquer the heavenly world". The pattern to offer an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni before the main offering is popular in the Kāmyeṣṭis.

²¹ *kapāla*- 'piece of broken clay pot, potsherd' is later replaced by 'small round clay piece' for baking the Puroḍāśa, s. Dharmadhikari 1989: 20; *kapāla*- means 'piece constituent of a scull' in the MS, KS, TS, TB (→ Ex. 6.3.).

²² *sāmnāyā*- is attested first in the prose of the Black YV and used always as an oblation to Indra, mostly in the Darśa, but also in the Cāturmāsyaṇi (MS^p 1,10.5:146.2–5 ≈ KS^p 36,1:68.5f. [→ Ex. 7.3.]; offering in Śunāsīrya KS^p 15,2:210.15 *aindraṁ sāmnāyāṁ* ~ MS^p 2,6.3.3:64.18

to Indra (or alternatively Mahendra KS+). The Puroḍāśa for Agni and Dadhi for Indra are closely united in the Darśa.²³ This ritual structure is parallel to that of the Soma sacrifice composed of Soma oblation preceded by Puroḍāśa at each Savana ‘pressing (and drinking) Soma’ in the morning, midday and evening.²⁴ Dadhi, often expressed *aindrá- dádhi-* (→ fn. 23), is equated to Soma sap, whereas Sāṃnāyya substitutes for Soma oblation, i.e., a mixture of Soma sap with milk (→ fn. 3, fn. 23), as is discussed in Ex. 5.

Similar to the Darśa, the Pūrṇamāsa is composed of the previous offering of an eight-kapāla-cake for Agni (→ fn. 20 TS^p 2,6.3.3) and the principal offering of a cake to an unspecified deity (in the MS^{mp} and KS^p) or to Agni-Soma (du. *agnīśōma-*) from the TS onward (→ Ex. 6.1). The pattern of the previous oblation of an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni before the main oblation is popular also in the Kāmyeṣṭis.

A curious peculiarity to the Darśapūrṇamāsa is that deities and oblations for the principal offerings are ambiguous in the MS and KS (as *amuṣmai* and *yásyai devātāyai*), with exception of Dadhi (or Sāṃnāyya in the prose) for Indra and Puroḍāśa for Agni (→ Ex. 6., 6.1., 6.2.). Moreover, the mantras, esp. Yājyās and Anuvākyās recited by the Hotṛ, fail in the MS, KS and TS; they are treated first in the TB (→ Ex. 6.5). On the other hand, the Anumantraṇa recited by the Yajamāna in the KS shows striking variety and flexibility of deities, which corresponds with the unspecified expression of deities *amuṣmai* and *yásyai devātāyai* in the MS and KS and suggests a close relation to the Kāmyeṣṭis.²⁵

aindrám dadhī ≈ TS 1,8.7.1 *aindrám dádhi* [→ Ex. 6.7.], Gavāmayana (TS^p 7,5.6.4; cf. 5,7.2f. *aidrá- dadhi-*), Kāmyeṣṭi (MS^p 2,2.13 ≈ TS^p 2,5.5.1f. [Caland 1908: Nr.155] expiation in the case that the moon arises towards the Sāṃnāyya, i.e., the Darśa takes place earlier than the lunar conjunction with the sun).

²³ TS^p 2,5.3.1f. (→ Ex. 7.2.) *índro vṛtrám hatvā devātābhiś cendriyēṇa ca vyārdhyata. sá etám āgneyám aśtākāpālam amāvāsyāyām apaśyad aindrám dádhi.* ‘Indra, having smitten Vṛtra, was deprived of divinities (vital functions) and virility characteristic of Indra (*indriyá-*). He saw (discovered) the eight-kapāla [Puroḍāśa] for Agni in the Amāvāsyā night, [and] **Dadhi for Indra.**’ This paragraph is followed by an explanation of the Sāṃnāyya (2,5.3.5f → fn. 47) and that of the curdler for making Dadhi for Indra (→ Ex. 5). For the eight-kapāla-cake to Agni both in the Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa, s. TS^p 2,6.3.3 (→ fn. 20 at the end).

²⁴ Cf. MS^p 3,10.5:136.19–137.5 [Agniśōma], RV 3,28.1–6; 41.3; 52.2–6; 4,24.5; 32.16; 6,23.7; 8,2.11; 31.2; 78.1 (→ fn. 20). As to the food offered with the Soma drink, e.g., cake (*puroḍāśa-*), porridge (*carú-*), s. Hillebrandt 1927: 468–470 (1990: 310–312).

²⁵ The Kāmyeṣṭis are Iṣṭis ‘rituals with oblations made from grain or milk’ (→ fn. 5) performed for the Yajamāna’s special desire after the model of the Darśapūrṇamāsaus, usually on the day of the full moon, but also of the new moon, or of a special Nakṣatra. Deities, oblations, mantras, dakṣiṇā, etc., are variable according to the Yajamāna’s wish: e.g., oblations of an eleven-kapāla-cake to Indra-Agni, Agni-Soma, Agni-Viṣṇu, various aspects of Indra, e.g., Vaimṛdha (Vimṛdha KS), Vṛtrahan, Indriyāvant, a twelve-kapāla-cake to Indra-Viṣṇu (du.), Agni Vaśvānara, *carú-* ‘porridge’ to Pūṣan, Soma, Soma-Pūṣan, Soma-Indra, Soma-Rudra, Agni-Varuṇa, etc. They are synthetically treated only in the Black YV (MS, KS, TS); the MS provides the most abundant variety of them. The Kāmyeṣṭis are comprehensively studied by Caland 1908.

Here is a provisory summary of information concerning the early state of the Darśapūrṇamāsau.

- 1) The brāhmaṇa on baking the Puroḍāśa informs us its size: maximum three kinds of cakes, baked on eight, eleven or twelve kapālas, are used in the MS and KS. An eight-kapāla-cake, compared to Prajāpati's head, is of special importance and seems indispensable (→ Ex. 6.3.).
- 2) The Anumantraṇa of the KS^{mp} gives names of the deities for main offerings (→ Ex. 6.4.): *agnīṣoma-* (du.), *agni-*, *dabdhī-*, ***agnīṣoma- vṛtrahaṇa-*** (du.), ***indrāgni-*** (du.), ***indra-***, ***mahendra-***, *indra- vimṛdha-*, *indra- indriyāvant-*, *sarasvatī-*, *pūṣan-*, *aditi-*, *viśva- deva-* (pl.), *dṛyāvāprthivī-* (du.), *agni-sviṣṭakṛt-*. The three at the beginning (for Ājyabhāga [→ fn. 174], Puroḍāśa and Upāmsūyāja [→ fn. 176]) and the last *agni- sviṣṭakṛt-* are common to the Darśa and the Pūrṇamāsa. *agnīṣoma- vṛtrahaṇa-* (du.) is parallel to *agnīśóma-* in the TS and considered as the principal deity of the Pūrṇamāsa offered an eleven-kapāla-cake. ***indrāgni-***, ***indra-*** and ***mahendra-*** are alternatives to be chosen as the principal deity of the Darśa: Puroḍāśa (an eleven- or twelve-kapāla-cake) for Indra-Agni, Sāṃnāyya for Indra or Mahendra. The deities from *indra- vimṛdha-* to *dṛyāvāprthivī-* are considered to belong to optional subsidiary offerings and eliminated in the Anumantraṇa of the TS. However, an ancillary offering to *indra- vimṛdha-* in the Pūrṇamāsa is provided in TS^p 2,5.3.1 (→ Ex. 7.2.2.). It is remarkable that all deities in the Anumantraṇa of the KS, except Dabdhī and Mahendra, are shared by the Kāmyeṣṭis of the MS, KS and TS.
- 3) The Yājyās and Anuvākyās recited by the Hotṛ at the main offerings are not indicated in the MS, KS and TS (→ Ex. 6.5.). Those for Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, Indra and Mahendra in the Darśapūrṇamāsau are mentioned first in TB^m 3,5.7.2–4. Their parallels are found as mantras for other Iṣṭis (Kāmyeṣṭis, etc.) in the MS, KS and TS (→ Ex. 6.5.), except the mantras for Mahendra appear all in the Agniṣoma (basic type of the Soma sacrifice). This suggests that the worship of Mahendra was taken from the Soma-sacrifice.
- 4) The offering of an eleven-kapāla cake to Agni-Soma is made subsidiarily in the Iṣṭi ancillary to Ādhāna 'setting up the sacrificial fires' in the MS and KS²⁶; the Yājyā and Anuvākyā for Agni-Soma in this Iṣṭi and the Kāmyeṣṭis (RV 1,93.5.9; MS^m 4,10.1:144.12–15; KS^m 4,16:42.20–43.2) are parallel to those in the Pūrṇamāsa (TB^m 3,5.7.2; → Ex. 6.6.A).
- 5) The oblation of an **eleven**-kapāla-cake to Indra-Agni is popular in the Kāmyeṣṭis, whereas a **twelve**-kapāla-cake is offered to Indra-Agni in

²⁶ MS^p 1,6.8:99.12–16 and KS^p 8,10:94.4f. (at the full moon).

Varuṇapraghāsa (MS/KS; eleven° TS) and Sākamedha (MS; **eleven**° KS/TS) of the Cāturmāsyāni (→ Ex. 6.7.B, fn. 181). Cp. a **twelve**-kapāla-cake for **Indra Śunāsīrya** and **Dadhi for Indra** in Śunāsīrya in TS^p 1,8.7.1 [Cāturmāsyāni in Rājasūya] (→ fn. 23, fn. 181).

- 6) Remarkable similarities are found between the Darśapūrṇamāsa and the Kāmyeṣṭis.
 - A) In a pair of Iṣṭis (CALAND 1908: Nr. 32, Nr. 33) found only in MS^p 2,1.3:4.14–5.5 (→ Ex. 6.6.B, Ex. 6.7.A), the first Iṣṭi is performed for victory with an eight-kapāla-cake for Agni, an **eleven**-kapāla-cake for **Agni-Soma** and a two-kapāla-cake for Heven-Earth; the second Iṣṭi after the victory changes the 2nd oblation alone to an **eleven**-kapāla-cake for **Indra-Agni**. The first Iṣṭi is combined with Indra's smiting Vṛtra with Vajra, just as the Pūrṇamāsa, whereas the second is performed for Indra's recovery of vigour and manliness after having smitten Vṛtra, just as the Darśa (→ Ex. 7.2.).
 - B) MS^p 2,2.11:24.5–7 (Nr.144): offerings of an eleven-kapāla-cake each to Indra Vajrin, Indra Vṛtrahan (→ Ex. 7.2., Ex. 7.4. TS^p 2,5.2.4f., ŚB 1,6.4.12f.) and Indra Vṛtratūr, when one's rival preforms a Soma sacrifice.
 - C) With regard to the myth of Indra and Vṛtra, a Kāmyeṣṭi named Traidhātavyā (MS/KS) or Traidhātavīya (TS) with offering of three layers of twelve-kapāla-cake for Indra-Viṣṇu (Caland Nr.178) presents a striking parallelism to Darśapūrṇamāsau (→ Ex. 7.2.).
- 7) Agni-Soma as well as Indra-Agni play important roles in the Agnyupasthāna 'worship of the sacrificial fires' combined to the Darśapūrṇamāsau in the MS and KS (→ Ex. 6.8., fn. 188, 189). The Āhitāgni pays homage to the sacrificial fire daily with the Ṛc for Agni-Soma in the waxing half-month and the Ṛc for Indra-Agni in the waning half-month. The waxing and waning half-month in the MS, or the full and new moon in the KS, belong to Agni-Soma and Indra-Agni respectively.

From the above-mentioned data, we could presume the following process of systematization of the Darśapūrṇamāsau:

- 1) The ambiguity and flexibility of deities, oblations and mantras at the early stage of the YV, which is much more noticeable in the Pūrṇamāsa than the Darśa, shows their close affinity with the Kāmyeṣṭis (→ fn. 25) in origin. It is remarkable that both share deities, oblations, Yājyā and Anuvākyās, except Dadhi and Sāmnāyya for Indra. In other words, Dadhi and Sāmnāyya for Indra characterize the Darśapūrṇamāsau and distinguish them from the

Kāmyeṣṭis. Both are rarely used in other Iṣṭis but the Cāturmāsyāni (→ fn. 23, Ex. 6.7.B, Ex. 7.3.).

- 2) The worship of Agni-Indra and Agni-Soma were common and at times associated with the full and the new moon respectively in the Kāmyeṣṭis and the Agnyupasthāna in the MS and KS.
- 3) At the stage of the MS, the principal deity of the Pūrṇamāsa was variable and selected by the Yajamāna (and priests) from suitable candidates, among which we could count first the full moon itself (*pūrṇamās-/pūrṇamāsa-*) or Soma (offered usually porridge) symbolizing the moon, then Agni-Soma from which Vṛtra (equated to the moon) was generated, further Indra as a brave warrior, Viṣṇu who assists Indra in raising his Vajra, Prajāpati as supervisor of the whole ritual, etc. Among them, Agni-Soma, known also as “protector of the priests” in the Kāmyeṣṭis, became prevailing and was fixed as the principal deity of the Pūrṇamāsa in the TS (mantras → Ex. 6.1.; prose → Ex. 7.2.). The KS was intermediate between the MS and the TS.
- 4) The oblation of Puroḍāśa for Indra-Agni is presumed to have been introduced into the Darśa from the Kāmyeṣṭis, probably first as a subsidiary offering to Sāmnāyya, and then substituted for Sāmnāyya which tended to be restricted, as the prohibition against offering Sāmnāyya to *śomayājīn-* ‘one who does not habitually perform the Soma sacrifice’ in the TS, shows (→ 4., fn. 127, fn. 128, Ex. 6.7). The size of Puroḍāśa to Indra-Agni was changed from an eleven-kapāla in the Kāmyeṣṭis to a twelve-kapāla in the Darśa; this size *dvādaśa-kapālā-* is mentioned first in ŚB 1,6.4.3.²⁷ In the Cāturmāsyāni, the size was wavering between twelve-kapāla and eleven-kapāla (→ Ex. 6.7.B, fn. 195).
- 5) In the TS, other deities such as Indra Vaimṛdha (Vimṛdha KS), Indra Vṛtrahan, Viṣṇu, Heaven-Earth (*dyāvāpṛthivī-*), Prajāpati²⁸ are integrated into the Pūrṇamāsa with subsidiary offerings to Indra Vaimṛdha (TS^p

²⁷ S. Nishimura 2016: 235.

²⁸ Prajāpati is explained as the supreme deity of the Pūrṇamāsa in TS^p 2,5.2.7 (→ Ex.7.2.) *brahmavādīno vadanti kiṃdevatyāṃ paurṇamāsam iti. prajāpatiyāṃ iti brūyāt. tēnēndram jyeṣṭhām putrām nirāvāsāyayad iti. tāmāj jyeṣṭhām putrām dhānena nirāvāsāyayanti.* “Those who discuss the Brahman say: ‘To which deity does the oblation (*havyā-*) at the full moon belong?’ One should say: ‘[It belongs to] Prajāpati.’ ‘[Prajāpati] sent away from the dwelling place the eldest son Indra with that (oblation) (to conquer Vṛtra).’ Therefore, [people] send away from the dwelling place the eldest son with wealth (for an expedition).” — Prajāpati is given an important role in the Darśapūrṇamāsa-brāhmaṇa of the TS, e.g., Prajāpati made cattle to collect Indra’s lost virility from plants (the origin of the Sāmnāyya) in 2,5.3.5f. (→ fn. 47, Ex. 7.2.); Prajāpati takes leadership in searching for Indra in 2,5.4.6 (→ fn. 47, Ex. 7.3.); Prajāpati forged (*asiñcat*: pour hot metal on an anvil and shape it with a hammer into) Vajra for Indra in 2,5.2.5, whereas Tvaṣṭṛ did in TS^p 2,4.12.2 [Traidhātaviya] ≈ MS^p 2,4.3:40.14 [Traidhātaviya]. For Indra’s Vajra made by Tvaṣṭṛ in the RV, see Gotō 2007: 850f., 2013a: 670f.

2,5.3.1) and to Indra Vṛtrahan (*vārtraghnam havis* ‘oblation belonging to Vṛtrahan [Indra’s epithet]’ TS^p 2,5.2.4f.) (→ Ex. 7.2.).

- 6) Ritual systematization of the Darśapūrṇamāsau was achieved in the TB. The ŚB (vol. 1 and vol. 11) made further steps for popularization, as is shown by approval for Sāmnāyā of *āsomayājina-* (→ above, 4., fn. 139), and theological development of this ritual (→ Ex. 7.2.).

The importance of the Amāvāsyā and Paurṇamāsī nights (→ 1.2.) survives in the rite of the Upavasatha (*upavasathā-* → 2.1., fn. 46, fn. 49): the Yajamāna, observing his religious duties (*vratā-*),²⁹ above all fasting, passes both the nights by the sacrificial fires to which the deities come together for the offering rites performed the next morning.³⁰ It is noteworthy that the stanza for the Paurṇamāsī (AV[Ś] 7,80.1 ≈ [P] 1,102.2; → Ex. 2) and that for Amāvāsyā (AV[Ś] 7,79.1 ≈ [P] 20,32.1 → Ex. 1) are recited at the Sārasvata offering of the Anvārambhañīyeṣṭi (introductory rite of the first full moon sacrifice after setting up the sacrificial fires) in TS^m 3,5.1.1(b) (→ 1.2., Ex.1, fn. 134, fn. 135). Moreover, the oblation to the full moon (*pūrṇamāsa-*) and the night of conjunction (*amāvāsyā-*) with mantras of TB^m 3,7.5.13 (y) (≈ AV[Ś] 7,80.2; → Ex. 2) and (z) respectively is performed as the Pārvaṇa Homa incorporated into the Darśapūrṇamāsau.³¹

In the ritual system of the Śrautasūtras, the oblation is unified into the *puroḍāsa-*: a twelve-kapāla-cake for Indra-Agni in the Darśa (→ above 4), fn. 36), an eleven-kapāla-cake for Agni-Soma in the Pūrṇamāsa, and an eight-kapāla-cake for Agni common to both. As the principal deity for Darśa, Indra-Agni replaced Indra (or

²⁹ For the rite of undertaking the Yajamāna’s duty (*vratopāyana-*), see Sakamoto-Gotō 2020: 216, 221f., esp. fn. 77; 2018 (in Japanese): 972–969.

³⁰ The Yajamāna-brāhmaṇas of the Black YV state that Āhavanīya and Gāryapatya should be spread around or over with Barhis (Darbha-grass) in the preceding day, first in order that the deities will come next morning to the sacrifice (MS^p 1,4.10: 58,1–5 ≈ KS^p 32,7.25.17–21), then that they will stay this night by the Yajamāna: TS^p 1,6.7.2f. ... *upastīryaḥ pūrvāś cāgnīr āparaś céty āhur manuṣyāḥ* || 2 || in nvā upastīrṇam ichānti kim u devā yēṣāṃ nāvāvasānam. *úpāsmiñ chvó yakṣyamāṇe devātā vasanti yá evāṃ vidvān agnīm upastīrñāti*. ‘[Scholars] say that the east fire (Āhavanīya) and the west (fire: Gārhapatya) should be spread over [with Barhis]. Human beings, verily, seek [a place] spread over [with grass] – how then the gods? – in case of their new settlement. The deities stay overnight by the [Yajamāna] who is going to perform the sacrifice tomorrow morning, if he, knowing thus, spreads over the fire [with Barhis]’. This concept is developed in ŚB 1,1.1.7 (Aṣāḍha Sāyavasa’s view) and 11 (Yājñavalkya’s view): 7. ... *tā enam etād vratām upayāntaṃ viduḥ prātār no yakṣyata iti. tē ’sya vīśve devā grhān āgachanti. tē ’sya grhēśūpavasanti. sá upavasathāḥ*. ‘They (the gods) know that he, undertaking Vrata in this way (by fasting), is going to perform a sacrifice. All the gods come to his residence (houses: pl. *grhā-*). They stay overnight close to him in the residence. That is the Upavasatha.’; 11. *sá āhavanīyāgārē vaitām rātrim śáyīta | gārhapatyāgārē vā. devān vā eṣā upāvartate yó vratām upáti. sá yān evopāvartate tēṣāṃ evāitan mādhye sete*. ‘He should lie this night either in the Āhavanīya-hut or in the Gārhapatya-hut. This one, verily, turn towards the gods, when he undertakes Vrata. He lies thus in the middle of those very (gods) that he turns towards.’

³¹ Cf. BaudhŚS 1,17; ĀpŚS 2,20.5; MānvŚS 1,3.2.21, Hillebrandt 1879: 115f. (II. Teil. C. III)..

Mahendra) so that the Sāmnāyya offering to Indra (or Mahendra)³² is reduced to an optional alternative oblation.

In the Gṛhyasūtras, the new and full moon sacrifices are designated *pārvaṇasthālīpāka-* (m.) ‘(offering) cooked food in a pot at the knot-time, i.e., the new and full moon’. As this name shows, oblations are consistently *odanā-* ‘porridge of rice or barley’, called *carú-* in the Śrautasūtras, with exception of optional butter-oblations to Agni and to Soma (GobhilaGS 1,8.3f., ĀśvGS 1,10.13f.). The deities are in principle the same as the Darśapūrṇamāsau, but much more flexible.³³ Curiously enough, the GobhilaGS prescribes that offering is made to Agni alone by that who is not Āhitāgni, both at the new and full moon, optionally by the Āhitāgni also.³⁴ This half-monthly offering to Agni reminds us of RV 1,94.4 (→ 1.1.). It is to be noticed that porridge is used also as the oblation to Soma, Aditi, etc., in the Iṣṭis and as the priest’s fee named Anvāhārya ‘what is to be brought supplementarily’ in the Darśapūrṇamāsau.

2. Astronomical background of the new and full moon sacrifices

Before examining the text, let us look briefly at the knowledge regarding the correlative movements of celestial bodies in the Vedic period, which underlay the religious thoughts and activities.³⁵

³² Mahendra as the deity to which Sāmnāyya is offered is discussed in TS^p 2,5.4.4f and ŚB 1,6.4.21, cf. Nishimura 2016: 238f.

³³ Cf. ŚāṅkhGS 1,3.1–17 (4. *devatās copāṃśuyājendramahendravajraṃ*; 5. *kāmyā itarāḥ*); 1,4.1f.; ĀśvGS 1,10.4–11 (6. ... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭaṃ nirvapāmīti*; 7. ... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭaṃ prokṣāmīti*; 10. ... *idam amuṣmā idam amuṣmā iti*); PārGS 1,12.1 (in addition to the deities stated in the ŚS, **Brahman, Prajāpati, Viśve Devāḥ** and **Heaven-Earth**); KhGS 2,1.9 (... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭaṃ nirvapāmīti* ...), 23. (... *amuṣmai svāheti juhuyād yaddevatyam*). For the mantras beginning with *amuṣmai*, cf. Ex. 6 MS^m 1,1.5:3.5 and 1,6:3.10.

³⁴ Cf. GobhilaGS 1,7.3 *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭaṃ nirvapāmīti devatānām ādeṣaṃ sakṛd dviṣ tūṣṇīm*. “Once designation of the deities [is done]: ‘for so-and-so, I take (throw) you (grain) out (from the cart into the bowl of mortar)’ which is agreeable (≈ MS^m 1,1.5:3.5 → Ex. 6), twice silently.” 1,8.21 *āgneya evānāhitāgner ubhayor darśapaurṇamāsayoḥ sthālīpākaḥ syāt*. “The porridge cooked in a pot of the Yajamāna who is not Āhitāgni should be belonging to **Agni alone** in both the new and full moon sacrifices”. 22. *āgneyo vā gñīṣomīyo vāhitagneḥ paurṇamāsyām*. “[The porridge] of the Āhitāgni [should be] belonging to **Agni or Agni-Soma** in the day following the full moon night”. 23. *aindro vaindrāgnī māhendro vā amāvāsyāyām*. “[The porridge] of the Āhitāgni [should be] belonging to **Indra, Indra-Agni or Mahendra** in the day following the Amāvāsyā night.” 24. *api vāhitāgner apy ubhayor darśapūrṇamāsayor āgneya eva syāt*. “Or also [the porridge] of the Āhitāgni should belong to **Agni alone** in both the new and full moon sacrifices”.

³⁵ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2011; 2012; 2015: 56f.

2.1. The conjunction of the sun and the moon: the Amāvāsyā night

Ancient Indian thought is based on the conception that all the phenomena in the universe repeat periodic changes according to their proper cycle, such as day and night, month, season, year, death and rebirth.

The regularity of those phenomena is expressed by nouns derived from the verbal root *ar* (**h₂er*) ‘sich (zusammen) fügen’³⁶: masculine *ṛtú-* ‘the right time in exact accordance with the temporal cycle’, above all ‘monthly period fit for conception of children by women’ and more generally ‘season’; neuter *ṛtá-* ‘the cosmic order which regulates all the phenomena in the universe, the highest law of all beings’, originally the verbal adjective ‘gefügt, fit’.

Seen by the naked eye from earth, the moon and sun move from east to west on their own paths, which are very close to each other.³⁷ However, the moon moves more slowly than the sun, so that the moon’s position relative to the sun shifts from west to east on average by about 12° a solar day; in other words, the moon rises and sets every day later, on average by about 50 minutes.³⁸

When the moon is seen from earth in the same direction as the sun, the moon is in conjunction with the sun and not seen in the nocturnal sky.³⁹ This night is called, from the AV onward, *amāvāsyā- rātrī-* (later *rātrī-*) ‘the night’⁴⁰ of staying (*vas*) at home (*amā*)⁴¹ of the moon joined with the sun, his wedded wife (→ 2.4., 3.1., 3.2.), while the moon travels the sky visiting one Nakṣatra after another in the other nights

³⁶ Cf. Gotō 2020a: 105 (8.3.) with Anm. 42.

³⁷ The moon’s orbit around the earth is declined by about 5.15° with regard to the ecliptic.

³⁸ The retardation time of the moon’s rising and setting varies according to the season and the latitude of the observation point.

³⁹ On the contrary, the full moon is seen from the earth in the opposite direction as the sun. The conjunction as well as the full moon occur anytime of a solar day. Now, the time of sunrise and sunset changes according to the season and to the observation point. As result, it occurs often that the moon is practically invisible or almost full in two successive nights (→ 3.2.4., fn. 107), which led to the concept of the two (prior and posterior) conjunction nights and the two full moon nights (→ fn. 14).

⁴⁰ *amāvāsyā-* (*rātrī-/rātrī-*) designates a full solar day including this night and the following daytime (→ fn. 2, Ex. 1, Fn. 133 KauS 5,5). In the early Vedic stage, a calendar day begins at sunset and the date is expressed by the night as counted from the conjunction or the full moon. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1119f. It is also noteworthy that *amāvāsyā-* implies the moon disappeared from the nocturnal sky (the moon in conjunction with the sun) as the opposite to *pūrṇamāsa-* ‘the full moon’.

⁴¹ *amā* ‘at home’ is an opposite of *āraṇe* (RV 10,63.16)/*āraṇye* (6,24.10) ‘by foreign people, in a foreign land’ and *ādhvan* (6,51.15), *ādhvasu* (10,185.2) ‘on the way/ways, on journey’, cf. Graßmann s.v. Its derivation from *āma-* ‘dieser (hier)’ (Graßmann s.v. *amā*, EWAia s.v. *āma-*) is uncertain, cf. Gotō 2013b: 73 “An alleged *āma-* ‘this’ is supposed in AV 14,2.71 and its parallels. But the form owes its existence to an artificial dividing of *sāman-* into *sā* and *āma-* imitating pron. *amú-*”.

(→ 2.4.).⁴² A question arises here: Where is the moon's 'home' for cohabitation with the sun? At the stage of the RV, the sun itself was considered as the moon's home as "the Nakṣatra par excellence" (→ 2.4.). From the astronomical view that the sun transfers around the earth (→ 2.5.), the moon and the sun must move together underground all this night,⁴³ which, however, disaccords with the sense of *amā* (→ fn. 41) and *vas*. As early as the RV,⁴⁴ we find the theological concept that the sun (i.e., Indra) daily enters the sacrificial fire at sunset and rises from that next morning. This concept developed especially in the speculations of the Agnihotra and the Agnyupasthāna, both daily obligations of the Āhitāgni.⁴⁵ The dual deity *indrāgni*- in the RV is reinterpreted into "Indra staying together with Agni in the Āhavanīya" and constitutes an essential part of the Agnyupasthāna (→ E.x. 6.8, fn. 183). It is also recognized from the TS^p onward that the gods stay together at the sacrificial fire in the new and full moon night (→ 1.3., fn. 30). We can gather from them that, at the stage of the AV (→ 1.2., Ex. 1) and the Black YV, the moon Soma was considered to stay together with the sun Indra in the Amāvāsyā night in the sacrificial fire by the Āhitāgni (mostly a learned brahmin).⁴⁶ By contrast, the ŚB presents a new interpretation that the moon Soma and the sun Indra pass separately the Amāvāsyā night: Indra stays together with Agni by the Yajamāna, and the moon Soma enters alone the plants on earth and is transformed into milk to be used for the Sāmnāyā.⁴⁷

⁴² As to the question who or what stays at home (*amā* + *vas*), there occur various interpretations, e.g., the fathers come home back to the Yajamāna's house (AV[Ś] 7,79.2 ≈ [P] 1,103.4; → 1.2., 2.1, Ex. 1, Ex. 2); Indra, discovered by the fathers under the direction of Prajāpati (TS) or by Agni (ŚB), stays home together with the gods (TS^p 2,5.4.6 → fn. 28, Ex.5, Ex.7.3; ŚB 1,6.4.2f); the moon Soma alone stays in the waters and plants on earth (ŚB 1,6.4.5 ≈ 11,1.1.4f.; → fn. 47, Ex. 5).

⁴³ The moon and the sun are together high in the sky in the following morning, cf. RV 10,85.4 (→ 3.1.).

⁴⁴ RV 10,88.6 [Agni] *mūrdhā bhuvō bhavati nāktam agnis | tātaḥ sūryō jāyate prātār udyān* "The fire becomes the top of the existence at night. Therefrom, the sun is born rising in the early morning".

⁴⁵ **KS^p 7,4:66.1 (= KpSp 5,3:62.7f.)** [Agnyupasthāna] *sūryo vā indras. so 'gnim naktam praviṣati* "Indra is verily the sun. He enters **the fire** by night"; **MSp 1,5,5:73.11–13** [Agnyupasthāna] *ubhāu hy ètāu sahā-. amūm vā ayām divā bhūte praviṣati. tasmād asāu divā rocata. imām asāu nāktam. tasmād ayām nāktam.* "Both (Indra and Agni) are namely together. This (Agni), verily, enters the yonder one (Indra) when the day breaks. Therefore that (Indra) shines by day. That (Indra) enters **this (earth: f. imām)** by night. Therefore this (Agni) [shines] by night." Parallels in the TS^p and ŚB are given in fn. 183. For the interpretation of the Agnihotra and the Agnyupasthāna, see Sakamoto-Gotô 2020: 189–191 (1.2., 1.3.), 196–198 (2.1.), fn. 32.

⁴⁶ In the MS^m and TB^p, the Brahmin is counted as the last Nakṣatra, i.e., the place where the moon stays in Amāvāsyā night (→ 2.4., fn. 64). It is supposed that, in origin, the learned Brahmin, probably a spiritual leader of his community, set up his sacrificial fires, offered by himself the Agnihotra and performed regularly the Darśapūrṇamāsau as Yajamāna. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2020: 204–208 (3. The social classes of the Āhitāgni and Agnihotrin), esp. p. 205, and p. 228 (8. Summary).

⁴⁷ **MS^p 1,10.5:146.2–5** [Cāturmāsyāni, on Āmikṣā] ≈ **KS^p 36,1:68.5f.** [Cāturmāsyāni, on

On the other hand, Amāvāsyā is considered as a sacred night of the moon's death preceding rebirth and is associated with human death and rebirth. As mentioned above, it seems generally recognized that, this night, the Yajamāna's deceased fathers come back to his house (→ 1.2 Ex. 1 AV[Ś] 7,79.2 ≈ [P] 1,103.4) and that one of them enters the womb of his wife to become her embryo. This is supposed to be the reason why the monthly ancestor worship⁴⁸ takes place in the afternoon preceding the conjunction night (→ fn. 47 TS^p 2,5.3.5; Ex.1; 5; 7.2.; 7.3.). On this night, the Yajamāna stays by the sacred fire restraining himself from human desires, i.e., *upavasathā*- in the original meaning.⁴⁹ Next morning, the new moon sacrifice is performed with assistance of the fathers.

After the conjunction, a thin crescent appears in the west after the sunset. Changing its phase by waxing and waning, the moon comes again into the conjunction. From the conjunction to the full moon, the distance between moon and sun increases, as if the moon is fleeing from the sun. From the full moon to the next conjunction, on the contrary, the distance decreases as if the sun is pursuing the moon. Before the conjunction, a thin horned moon rises in the east before daybreak. Then the rising sun catches up with the moon. The correlative movement of the sun and the moon as well as the moon's periodical death and rebirth are described as early as the RV in various ways.

Āmikṣā] ≈ TS^p 2,5.3.5f. [Darśapūrṇamāsau] (→ Ex. 5.) explain the origin of the Sāmnāyā from collecting Indra's virility: after having smitten Vṛtra, Indra's virility (MS/KS *vīryā*-, TS *indriyā*- *vīryā*-, implying the sense 'semen/sperm') dispersed from him on earth, then entered water, grass and trees (MS/KS) or became plants (TS); this virility, collected (*sam-nī*) by the gods (MS/KS) or by cattle under Prajāpati's order (TS), changed into milk for Sāmnāyā offering. This episode common to the Black YV is to a large extent transformed in ŚB 1,6.4.1–15: independently from Indra, the moon Soma enters waters and plants on earth, changes himself into milk inside the cows, is milked, cooked and curdled for the Sāmnāyā offering. For the ŚB loc.cit., cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1124 (3.4.); Nishimura 2016: 245–249; see Ex. 5, 7.2., 7.3, 7.4 — **Kāthaka-Saṃkalana 2** [Amā-brāhmaṇa] and **ṢaḍvB 4(5),6.1–3** present a speculation resulting from a mixture of the Black YV and the ŚB: in the Amāvāsyā night, the last 16th part of the moon enters successively herbs, trees, cows, cattle, the sun (*āditya*-), the sacred formula (*brahman*- nt.sg.) and the brahmins (*brāhmaṇa*- m.pl.), by which all the gods stay overnight; the brahmins collect (*saṃnayante*) the moon as Sāmnāyā from herbs, trees, cows, cattle, the sun and the sacred formula.

⁴⁸ Piṇḍapitṛyajña as a Śrauta-ritual (but not yet treated in the MS nor KS), Śrāddha as a Gṛhya-ritual. Noteworthy is MŚS 1,1.2.42 *apy anāhitāgninā kāryaḥ* "[The Piṇḍapitṛyajña] is to be done also by that who has not set the sacrificial fire".

⁴⁹ The meaning of *upavasathā*- was extended to the whole preparatory ritual procedures from the daybreak on the day preceding the day of offerings of the Darśapūrṇamāsau, so that the Darśapūrṇamāsau became considered composed of two days respectively in the system of the Śrauta rituals, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2018.

2.2. The sun and the moon as two playing children

RV 10,85.18–19 (\approx AV[Ś] 14,1.23–24; [P] 18,3.2–3; AV[Ś] 7,81.1–2 [\rightarrow 3., Ex. 3, fn. 145] \approx [P] 19,40.8 and 20,31.7; MS^m 4,12.2:181.3–6)⁵⁰ present astronomical knowledge as to the sun and the moon and their significance for the rituals. The stanzas are not directly related to Sūryā's wedding procession and are supposed to have been secondarily inserted into the Sūkta, because Sūryā's wedding to Soma signifies nothing but the conjunction of the sun and the moon (\rightarrow 3.1., 3.4.).

18. *pūrvāpāraṃ carato māyāyaitāu* | *śīsū krīḍantau pāri yāto adhvarām* |
viśvāny anyo bhūvanābhicāṣṭa | *ṛtūmr anyo vidādhat jāyate pūnah* ||

Ahead and behind in turn,⁵¹ these two [children] wander with wonderful measuring faculty (*māyā-*). The two children move playing around the ritual course (of the new and full moon sacrifices). The one (the sun) observes all the beings;⁵² the other (the moon), disposing (*vidādhat*) the periods (months, seasons, etc.: *ṛtū-* pl. \rightarrow 2.1.), is born again.

The sun and the moon are compared to two playing children who chase each other. While the sun is the unchangeable observer of the universe, the moon changes periodically itself in shape and position concerning the sun as well as the stars. Thus, the moon disposes the calendar period by dividing days into months, sets months in order according to seasons of a year, and disposes fixed stars as Nakṣatras.⁵³ The moon distributes also oblations to the gods at each knot-time (*pārvaṇ-*), as the following stanza states. This is the reason why the moon is called *vidhāna-* ‘the means of disposing’ (of months: RV 10,138.6) and *vidhū-* ‘disposer’ (RV 10,55.5), both derived from *vi* + *dhā* ‘dispose, divide, distribute, arrange, etc.’, see below 2.3. and fn. 57.

19. *nāvo-ṇavo bhavati jāyamāno-* | *āhnām ketūṛ uśāsām ety āgram* |
bhāgām devébhyo vi dadhāt āyān | *prā candrāmās tirate dīrghām āyuh* ||

[The moon] becomes each time new, when he is born. As a bright sign (*ketū-*) of the days,⁵⁴ he (the moon just before the conjunction) goes at the front of dawns. He, coming (to the earth), distributes shares to the gods. The shining moon (*candrāmās*) carries [us] across [our] long lifetime.

This stanza praises the moon's periodical rebirth and rejuvenation. Just before the conjunction, the moon rises before the daybreak, preceding dawns. In the conjunction night, the moon comes to earth (\rightarrow 2.1, fn. 42, fn. 46, fn. 47, Ex. 5) and next morning brings oblations for the gods and long life for mankind in the new moon sacrifice (\rightarrow Ex. 1. AV[Ś] 7,79 \approx [P] 1,103).

⁵⁰ Further parallels: st.18 \approx AV(Ś) 13,2.11; TB^m 2,7.12.2; 2,8.9.3; st.19 \approx TS^m 2,4.14.1 (HirGS 1,5.16.1), TS^p 2,3.5.3, KS^m 10,12:141.11f.

⁵¹ The waning moon rises before the sunrise and the waxing moon sets after the sunset.

⁵² Cf. RV 1,164.20 [riddle hymn] in which a pair of birds signify the sun and the moon as well as Puruṣa and Virāj (\rightarrow Ex. 4.).

⁵³ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1119.

⁵⁴ The expression *āhnām ketū-* is found also as to Agni Vaiśvānara, e.g., RV 7,5.5, 10,88.12.

2.3. The sun (Indra) swallows the moon (Vṛtra)

RV 10,55.5 (hymn for Indra; ≈ AV[Ś] 9,10.9; [P] 16,68.8)⁵⁵ interprets the conjunction as the sun's swallowing the moon. The sun is expressed as an aged god, namely immortal Indra, in contrast to the moon who dies as a youth having lived only a month.⁵⁶

*vidhūm dadrāṇām sāmāne bahūnām | yūvānaṁ sántam palitō jagāra |
devasya paśya kāvyaṁ mahitvā- | dyā māāra sā hyāḥ sām āna ||*

The grey-haired (Indra as the sun) has swallowed (*jagāra*) the disposer (*vidhū-*: the moon, s. below and fn. 57, 2.2), being yet young, running (*dadrāṇā-*, s. below and fn. 59) in the meeting place (*sāmāna-* → fn. 58, fn. 87) of many [stars → fn. 58]. Behold the wisdom (seer's ability: *kāvyaṁ*), powers (pl. *mahitvā*) of the god (Indra)! Today he (the moon) has died (*māāra*); yesterday, he (the moon) breathed (*āna*) together [with the sun = Indra].

Just like *vidhāna-* in RV 10,138.6 (s. just below), *vidhū-*⁵⁷ is considered as an epithet of the moon, derived from *vi-dhā* 'dispose, divide, distribute, arrange, etc.' like (-) *sthū-* from *sthā*, see above 2.2. The moon disposes not only the days and the months (→ 2.2., fn. 53), but also the Nakṣatras (→ 2.4.), running in the meeting place of many stars (*sāmāne bahūnām*)⁵⁸, i.e., the nocturnal sky.

Perfect forms draw attention in this stanza: *dadrāṇām*⁵⁹ 'he has already begun running and is now running'; *jagāra* 'he (the sun) has him (the moon) now in the abdomen'; *māāra* 'he is already dead'; *āna* probably for Konstatierung (fact-establishing statement) {as constative} of a state in the past caused by the action *an* 'breathe'.

In **ŚB 1,6.4.18–20** (→ 1.3, Ex. 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, fn. 192), the sun is equated with Indra and the moon with Vṛtra; the astronomical phenomenon of the sun's swallowing the moon is combined with Indra's myth of smiting Vṛtra (→ 1.3, fn. 61, Ex. 7.1, 7.2,

⁵⁵ ≈ MS^m 4,9.12:133.10f.; TA 4,20.1.

⁵⁶ Indra is closely related with the sun in the RV and equated with the sun, sun's light (*svār-*), sun's ray (*raśmī-*), light (*jyōtis-*) etc., from the RV onwards, especially in the brāhmaṇas, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2020: 186f. (SV 2,1181 [9,2.8.1]), fn. 9; 192 (ŚB 2,3.1.7); 196f. (MS^p 1,5.7:75.1–5), fn. 32 (KS^p 7,4:66.1 = KpS^p 5,3:62.7f.; MS^p 1,5.5:73.11–13).

⁵⁷ *vidhū-* is used in the sense of the moon in the classical Sanskrit, but ved. *vidhū-* is attested only here. For other etymological interpretations, cf. EWAia II 556 with bibliography. According to Tichy (1993: 15f = Kl. Schr. 365f), *vidhū-* is derivative to *vyadh* and signifies 'tötlich getroffen' in reference to *sāmāna-* 'Kampf' (→ fn. 58): "Ihn, der tödtlich getroffen im Kampf der vielen einherlief, hat, als er jung war, der Graukopf verschlungen."

⁵⁸ Tichy (1993: 15f.) 'im Kampf der vielen' (*sāmāne*), see fn. 57. Cf. Graßmann s.v. *sāmāna-* 'das Zusammensein, Zusammentreffen; Ort des Zusammenseins; Ort der liebenden Umarmung; Kampfplatz; Markt, Kreuz.'

⁵⁹ Cf. Narten 1969: 134 = Kl.Schr.: 96 "die Tatsache, daß **dreṇ*, eine 'Aoristwurzel' ist, die lexikalische Bedeutung ... etwa 'zum Laufen starten'"; Kümmel: 254 s.v. *drā* "Darüber hinaus erscheint einmal ein Ptz. Med., das präsentisches 'dahin-, einherlaufen' (= naktostatisches 'los-gelaufen sein') vorauszusetzen scheint" citing Tichy (1993: 16) (→ fn. 57, fn. 58).

7.3). The moon (Vṛtra) approaches the sun (Indra) from afar and is devoured by him in the Amāvāsyā night. Sucked out and thrown out, the moon (Vṛtra) appears again and waxes to become his food.⁶⁰

18. *tād vā eṣā evēndrah | yā eṣā tāpaty. āthaiṣā evā vṛtrō yāc candrāmāḥ. sò 'syaiṣā bhrātṛvyajanmeva. tasmād yādy āpi purā vidūram ivoditō 'thainam etām rātrim ūpaivā nyāplavate. sò 'sya vyāttam āpadyate. 19. tām grasitvódeti. | sá ná purástān ná paścād dadṛṣe. ... 20. tām nirdhīya nīrasyati. | sá eṣā dhītāḥ paścād dadṛṣe. sá púnar āpyāyate. sá etāsyaiṁnādyāya púnar āpyāyate. ...*

18. Then, verily, this very one is Indra, who heats here (i.e., the sun). On the other hand, this very one is Vṛtra, if [it concerns] (*yād*) the moon. As such (the moon), this (Vṛtra) is his (Indra's) rival just by nature. Therefore, even though [Vṛtra = the moon] rose formerly just far away [from Indra = the sun], [Vṛtra] floats then indeed near to him (Indra) this night. Thus, he (Vṛtra) falls into his (Indra's) opened mouth. 19. [Indra] rises after having devoured him (Vṛtra). He (Vṛtra) is seen neither in the east nor in the west. ... 20. After having sucked him out, [Indra] throws him out. Thus, sucked out, this (Vṛtra) is seen in the west. He swells again. He swells again for the food of this very one (Indra). ...

In other versions of the myth, Vṛtra is divided by Indra into parts and transformed into the moon, stars, Soma (sap or plant), belly, variegated creatures, etc.⁶¹ For example, in RV 10,138.6 [Indra] addressed to Indra as *vṛtrahān-* (138.5b):

*etā tṛyā te śrutayāni kēvalā | yād ēka ēkam ākṣnor ayajñām |
māsām vidhānam adadhā ādhi dyāvi | tvāyā vibhinnam bharati pradhīm pitā ||*

These (the above-mentioned) fames belong only to you (Indra), when you alone made the other one (Vṛtra) devoid of worship. You had put (*adadhās*) the disposer of the months (i.e., the moon; *vidhāna-*, see just above and fn. 57) upon the heaven. The father (the heaven) carries that which was divided asunder by you as a segment of a chariot's rim (*pradhī-*)⁶².

In **ŚB 1,6.3.17** [Darśapūrṇamāsau], Indra divided Vṛtra into halves and changed to the moon and the belly of the creatures respectively; as his food, the moon waxes

⁶⁰ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2010: 1124f.

⁶¹ On the RV: 10,49.6 (celestial bodies) and 138,6 (the moon), see Geldner ad. loc. In the YV: MS^p IV16f.:58.16f. [Rājasūya] ~ TS^p 2,5.2.5 [Darśapūrṇamāsau] (Nakṣatras in heaven and variegated creatures on earth; → Ex.7.2.); MS^p 3,7.8:87.17 and 10,5:136.19–137.1 [Agniṣṭoma] (Soma plant); KS^p 12,3:165.1 [Traidhātavyā] (Soma sap); MS^p 2,4.4:41.18 [Traidhātavyā] ≈ TS^p 2,4.12.6 [Traidhātavyā] (Indra's belly); **ŚB** 1,6.3.17 [Darśapūrṇamāsau] (the moon and the belly of creatures on earth, s. above). For the myth of Indra and Vṛtra, s. 1.3. and Ex.7.1, 7.2, 7.4.

⁶² Pādas cd suggest the following story: Indra had put Vṛtra as the moon above heaven, then cut him asunder into twelve parts, namely *pradhī-*, which is a metaphor for the moon belonging to each month. The rim of a wheel is considered to have been composed of 12 *pradhī-*; hence, the wheel (*cakrā-*) was compared to the whole year composed of 12 months in RV 1,164.48. Cf. Gotô 2013a ad 4,30.15: *Felgen, pradhī-*, Krummhölzer, Teilstücke des Felgenkranzes “dessen einzelne Segmente durch je eine Speiche mit der Radnabe verbunden waren” (Klingenschmitt 1980: 216f. = 2005: 210f.).

by transfer of food from the belly of creatures on earth (→ 1.3, fn. 61, 3.1., fn. 72, Ex.7.1, 7.2):

... *sá vái mé 'nnam edhīti. tathēti. tām dvedhānvabhinat. tāsya yāt saumyām nyāktam āsa tām candrāmasam cakārā-. tha yád asyāsuryām āsa tēnemāḥ prajā udāreṇāvidhyat. tāsmād āhur vṛtrā evā tārhy annādā āsīd vṛtrā etarhīti-. dām hi yád asāv āpūryāte 'smād evaitāl lokād āpyāyate. ...*

... [Indra said to Vṛtra:] “You [saying] so, be verily my food!”. [Vṛtra said:] “All right”. [Indra] divided [Vṛtra] in two parts. Of him existed [a part] smeared [with Soma sap], belonging to Soma; [Indra] made it the moon. Of him existed, on the other hand, [the other part] belonging to Asura; [Indra] penetrated the creatures on earth by it as the belly. Therefore, people say: “Indra alone was at that time the eater of food. Vṛtra [is even] now [the eater of food]”. In this case, namely, when the yonder (moon) waxes, it waxes [by food brought] from this very [belly of creatures on earth], from this world. ...

2.4. The moon's marriage with Nakṣatras including the sun

During the period between two successive conjunctions with the sun, the moon advances on its orbit over 28 (or 27; → fn. 46, fn. 63) nights, approaching every night a different fixed star (or star-group), and staying with the sun at home (*amā*; → 2.1., fn. 41) in the Amāvāsyā night (sometimes two Amāvāsyā nights; → 1.2., fn. 14, 2.1., fn. 39, fn. 107). The stars including the sun visited by the moon are named *nákṣatra*- (nt.) ‘the place to which the moon attains (*nákṣa*-⁶³) [and in which he stays overnight]’, hence ‘lunar mansion’.

In the RV, *nákṣatra*- in the singular signifies always the sun as ‘the Nakṣatra par excellence’, namely ‘the sun's home’. After the RV onward, the sun was excluded from the Nakṣatras and the star(group)s on the moon's path were classified into the 28 Nakṣatras (AV[Ś], MS^m, TB^m) or the 27 Naksatras (KS^m, TS^m, TB^{mp}).⁶³ In addition to them, *brāhmaṇá*- ‘Brahmin’ is counted as the last Nakṣatra in the MS^m and the TB^p,⁶⁴ which suggests the concept that the sun stays in the sacrificial fire by the Brahmin on earth in the Amāvāsyā night (→ 2.1., fn. 46, fn. 47).

⁶³ The former model of 28 Nakṣatras is based on the synodic month, i.e., the period between two successive lunar conjunctions with the sun (on average ca. 29.53 solar days) and, being accessible to the common people, was favored in popular ceremonies. On the other hand, the latter of 27 Naksatras is based on the sidereal month, i.e., a cycle of the moon's movement related to the fixed stars (on average ca. 27.32 solar days) and, as a more scientific model, prevailed among the priest-scholars. This model was inherited by Jyotiṣā, the post-Vedic astronomy, in which the Nakṣatras were transformed into the equally spaced 27 zones (each 13.3...°) on the moon's path. For details of the Naksatras, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2011: esp. 1083; also 2010: 1075f., 1118f.

⁶⁴ MS^m 2,13.20:166.9f. [Agniciti, Nakṣatreṣṭakā] *brāhmaṇó nákṣatram. sómo devatā*. “The [29th] Nakṣatra is the Brahmin. [Its] divinity is Soma”; TB^p 1,5.3.4 [rite for the Nakṣatras] *brāhmaṇó vā aṣṭāvimśó nákṣatrāṇām*. “The 28th of the Nakṣatras is verily the Brahmin”. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2011: 1078f., 1080.

The month is named after the Nakṣatra around which the full moon stays, e.g., the month Māgha from Maghās (RV Aghās) at the full moon (→ 3.2.4., fn. 106), probably because the Nakṣatra at the new moon, conjunct with the sun, is invisible.

The Nakṣatras composed of stars are often treated as female deities who are the moon's wives. The moon's marriage with Nakṣatras (except for the sun) who are Prajāpati's daughters is referred to in the prose of the Black YV: MS^p 2,2.7:21.4–14; KS^p 11,3:147.1–12; TS^p 2,3.5.1–3.⁶⁵ The moon's wedding with the sun is treated in RV 10,85 and its parallels in the AV (→ 3.2.), AitB 4,7 ≈ KauṣB 18,1,7–9 (→ 3.2.2., fn.94).

2.5. Two phases of Venus, the morning and evening stars, and their relation to the sun

As an interior planet, Venus turns around the sun on a 584-day cycle changing its appearance: invisible (in a superior conjunction) → the evening star → invisible (in an inferior conjunction) → the morning star. The morning or evening star appears for several months in return in the eastern or western sky respectively, changing its position and brightness. During this period, the moon repeats its waxing and waning cycle independently from Venus. Venus' greatest elongation from the sun is 47°. In consequence, the morning or evening star moves around the sun in the distance of max. 47°, i.e., the distance of less than 4 Nakṣatras.

Following the morning star, the sun rises in the east and moves on its celestial way to the west, while the evening star pursues the sun which has set down in the west and appears next morning in the east. This phenomenon seems to have led to the concept that the morning and evening stars assist the rising sun and the setting sun respectively in its daily transfer around the earth.

In the RV, the binary gods Aśvin and Nāsatya are supposed to represent the morning and evening stars: Aśvin, as the morning star, carries the sun in his chariot from the east to the west in the sky by day, and Nāsatya, as the evening star, salvages the sun set down in the ocean surrounding and underlying the earth and brings it back in a ship from the west to the east by night.⁶⁶

3. Ṛgveda 10,85 (≈ AV[Ś] 14,1–2; AV[P] 18,1)

This Sūkta, called “Sāvitrī Sūryā” (Sūryā belonging to Savitr) or “the wedding hymn”, is common to the RV and the AV ([Ś] as well as [P]) and well known for Sūryā's wedding procession as the prototype of a human bride's wedding. It is based on the latest astronomy of the time, regarding the correlative movements of sun,

⁶⁵ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1123f.

⁶⁶ Cf. Gotō 2009: 199–226, 2020b: 27–30.

moon, planet and fixed stars. Its leitmotif is the lunar conjunction with the sun, metaphorically expressed as Sūryā's marriage with the moon god Soma, arranged by Aśvin and Nāsatya, i.e., two phases of Venus.

The Sūkta is composed of five parts:

- Part 1: stanzas 1–5 (Anuṣṭubh); the double-meaning of Soma and the monthly new moon sacrifice with Soma offering.
- Part 2: stanzas 6–13 (Anuṣṭubh); the myth of Sūryā's wedding procession.
- Part 3: stanzas 14–17 (1 Triṣṭubh + 3 Anuṣṭubh; ≈ AV[P] 18,1.1–4); the riddle of the third wheel of the chariot (*rátha*-) of both Aśvins who went to Sūryā's wedding procession. This part is omitted in this paper.
- Part 4: stanzas 18–19 (2 Triṣṭubh); astronomical knowledge on the correlative movement of sun and moon and on the moon's periodical rebirth, discussed above 2.2., cf. also fn. 50, Ex. 3, fn. 145. The moon is expressed by *candrāmas*-; Soma as the moon is not mentioned.
- Part 5: stanzas 20–47 (8 Triṣṭubh + 1 Jagatī + 1 Triṣṭubh/Jagatī + 1 Nyaṅkusāriṇī [alias Uroḇṛhaṭī, also Skandhogrīvī; 8+12+8+8 syllables; st.34]⁶⁷ + 17 Anuṣṭubh ≈ AV[P] 18,1.1–4); blessing for the human bride in wedding ceremonies. The character of the Gṛhya ritual is remarkable. This part is omitted in this paper.

Parts 1 and 4 are not related to Sūryā and her wedding (procession).

3.1. Part 1: stanzas 1–5 (AV[Ś] 14,1.1–5 ≈ AV[P] 18,1.1–4)

This part introduces the Sūkta by imparting the secret knowledge regarding Soma monopolized by the learned Brahmins: *sóma*- means not only sap pressed out from a plant on earth, but also the moon in heaven, which is consumed by the gods and accordingly waxes and wanes (→ 1.2., Ex. 3. AV 7,81.6).⁶⁸ The sun is expressed by masc. *sūrya*-. It is to be remarked that the order of st. 4 and st. 5 is reversed in the AV[Ś] and st. 5 is wanting in the AV[P].

⁶⁷ According to Piṅgala's Chandaḥśūtra 3,28–30, cf. Weber 1863: 243f., 147f., 91/94/96 (Nidānasūtra), 154 (table of main metres).

⁶⁸ It is supposed that the peculiarities common to the moon and Soma sap (→ 1., fn. 3, fn. 4) led to their equation: 1) [wakefulness in the night] Shining in the heaven, the moon is awake through the night, while Soma sap has a stimulating and awakening effect, which bestows men with the ability of being always awake, even in the night. 2) [the gods' food or drink for immortality] Being always awake without sleeping signifies transcending the elapse of time marked by daily sleep. Soma sap is therefore considered to brings immortality, namely *amṛta*- as 'ambrosia', cf. RV 9,91.2 (*sóma*- = *amṛta*-); 8,38.12 and 9,84.2 (*sóma*- = *ámṛtya*-); 1,84.4 and 8,48.8 (*sóma*- = *ámartya*-). As most valuable oblation to the gods, Soma sap is the gods' drink which makes them immortal. On the other hand, it was generally recognized that the moon's periodical waning and waxing are caused by the gods' consuming it. As the gods' food, the moon and Soma sap are linked together. This concept developed further into the "Pitṛyāna" of the "Two-Way Doctrine" in the Upaniṣads. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 23–27, 62–70.

1. *satyénottabhitā bhūmih¹ | sūryeñottabhitā dyaúh |*
ṛténādityās tiṣṭhanti¹ | divi sómo ádhi śritáh ||

The earth is upheld by the truth. The heaven is upheld by the sun (*sūrya*-). By the cosmic law (*ṛtá*- → 2.1.), the Āditya-gods stand. Soma is resting upon the heaven.

2. *sómenādityā balínah¹ | sómena pṛthivī mahí |*
átho náḁṣatrāñām eṣām¹ | upáste soma āhitaḥ ||

By Soma, the Āditya-gods are possessed of power. By Soma, the earth is great. And then, Soma is placed in the lap of these Nakṣatras (→ 2.4.).

3. *sómam manyate papivān¹ | yát sampiṁśánty óṣadhim |*
sómaṁ yám brahmāño vidúr¹ | ná tásyāśnāti kás caná⁶⁹ ||

[The Yajamāna] considers himself to have drunk Soma, when [the priests] press out the (Soma) plant. Any one [on earth] does not eat that which the priest-scholars know as Soma (i.e., the moon).

4. *āchádvidhānair gupitó¹ | bārhatāih soma rakṣitáh |*
grāvam íc chṛṇvān tiṣṭhasi¹ | ná te aśnāti pāṛthivaḥ ||

Protected by the arrangements for covering, guarded by those belonging to the *bṛhat*-/*bṛhatī*- (*bārhata*- pl.), O Soma (the moon), you stand hearing the very pressing stone (of the Soma plant). One who belongs to the earth does not eat (of) you (*te*: partitive gen.).

5. *yát tvā deva prapibanti¹ | táta ā pyāyase púnah |*
vāyúh sómasya rakṣitá¹ | sámānām māsā ākṛtiḥ ||

When [the gods] begin to drink you (Soma as plant sap offered in the new moon sacrifice), O God, then you (the moon) wax again. The wind is Soma's protector.⁷⁰ The month (*māsa*-) is the basic form of the years.

St. 1–3 present Soma as the moon in heaven as well as plant sap for oblation. St. 4 and 5 are addressed to Soma as a god (*devá*-), in the second person, in a double meaning of celestial Soma, the moon, and earthly Soma, plant sap. St. 3–4 suggest that the moon, celestial Soma, is consumed by divine beings, i.e., the gods.

St. 4 describes the new moon sacrifice in the morning following the Amāvāsyā night (→ 2.1., fn. 42, fn. 43). The celestial Soma, the moon, joined with the sun stays high in the sky and hears the pressing of the earthly Soma. The celestial Soma is protected by the covering arrangements, i.e., sunrays concealing the moon, and by those belonging to the *bṛhat*- (adj. 'high' and nt. "Bṛhat-sāman, Bṛhat-uktha, etc."), supposedly either the winds blowing in high space (cf. *vāyú*- in the following

⁶⁹ For *kás caná*, AV(Ś) *pāṛthivaḥ*, (P) *pāṛthivaḥ*.

⁷⁰ The wind is often described as Soma's protector, most probably because Soma is a wild plant growing in high terrain (→ fn. 4), which is the territory ruled by the wind.

stanza), or priests' voices chanting the Bṛhat-sāman⁷¹.

St. 5 states in a puzzling way the relationship between the moon's waxing and offering Soma sap at the new moon. We could suppose the following process: From the full moon to the conjunction, the moon is consumed by the gods and wanes. The moon, thus exhausted, disappears in the Amāvāsyā night. Next morning, Soma sap is pressed and offered to the gods. Consequently, they begin to drink (*prapibanti*) this oblation and stop drinking the moon. As a result, the moon begins to wax. Assumedly at full moon, Soma oblation is exhausted and the gods begin to drink the celestial Soma, the moon, which newly causes the moon's waning. It is noteworthy that the oblation of Soma sap is not turned directly into the moon for its swelling. The moon's waxing and waning is given various interpretations in later literature.⁷² In the Daruśapūrṇamāsau (YV+), this astronomical phenomenon is connected to Indra's myth of smiting Vṛtra (→ 1.3., 2.3., Ex. 7).

3.2. Part 2: stanzas 6–13 (AV[Ś] 14,1.6–13 ≈ AV[P] 18,1.5–10; 2.1–2)

3.2.1. Text and translation

From part 2 onward, the masculine noun *sūrya*- 'the sun, sun god' disappears and the feminine *sūryā*- comes to the fore. *Sūryā*'s wedding procession to Soma, the moon, is told as a myth in the remote past, as is shown by the frequent use of the imperfect.

The marriage of *Sūryā* and Soma symbolizes the conjunction of the moon and the sun. Their wedding ceremony is expected to be the new moon sacrifice. Here is, however, not the monthly sacrifice as in part 1, but the annual one combined with slaughtering cattle and performed under specified Nakṣatras.

The order of st. 6 and st. 7 is reversed in the AV(Ś) and (P).

6. *rāibhṛy āśīd anudēyī | nārāśaṃśī nyócanī |*
*sūryāyā bhadram id vāso | gāthayaiti páriṣkṛtam*⁷³ ||

⁷¹ For the relation of the Bṛhat-sāman and the sun which is high in the heavens, cf. Hillebrandt 1889: 326 (= Kl. Schr. p. 101).

⁷² Cf. AV(Ś) 7,81.6 ≈ (P) 1,102.4 (→ Ex. 3): the gods swell and consume the moon. — ŚB 1,6.3.17 [Daruśapūrṇamāsau]: the moon (a half of Vṛtra) waxes by transfer of food from the belly (the other half) of creatures on earth (→ 2.3., fn. 61, Ex. 7.1., 7.2). — ŚaṅvB 4(5) 6.2 explains that the moon's waxing and waning is caused by the Soma sacrifice monthly performed by the gods for themselves in heaven: *pūrvapakṣe vai devā dīkṣante. te 'parapakṣe somaṃ bhakṣayanti* "In the former half-month, verily, the gods are consecrated (i.e., fast except for special food made of cooked milk). They consume Soma (the moon) in the latter half-month" (→ 2.1., fn. 47). — AV(Ś) 7,81.5 ≈ (P) 20,41.6 (→ Ex. 3): the moon swells with the breath of the dead enemies. The concept that the dead enter the moon and are sent back to the earth, which causes the moon to swell and to wane, became prevalent, as found in JB 1,18 ≈ 49 and KauṣU 1,2, and was incorporated into the "Two-way doctrines" (→ Ex. 3).

⁷³ AV(Ś) *páriṣkṛtā*, (P) *pariṣkṛtā*: "Sūryā's garment [was] auspicious; she goes adorned with Gāthā".

Raibhī (a kind of Gāthā)⁷⁴ was [her] wet nurse (*anudēyī-*)⁷⁵, Nārāsaṃsī (a kind of Gāthā)⁷⁶ [was her] intimate (*nyócanī-*)⁷⁷ [female attendant].⁷⁸ Sūryā's auspicious garment goes adorned with Gāthā (→ fn. 73).

7. *cittir ā⁷⁹⁾ upabārhaṇam | cākṣur ā (→ fn. 79) abh yāñjanam |*
dyāur bhūmiḥ kōśa āsīd | yād āyāt sūryā pátim ||

Consciousness was (ipf. *ās*) [her] cushion. Sight was (ipf. *ās*) [her] cosmetic unguent. The heaven [as well as] the earth was [her] chest, when Sūryā went to [her] husband.

8. *stómā āsan pratidhāyah | kurīram chānda opaśāḥ |*
sūryāy āśvīnā varā- | gnir āsīt purogavāḥ ||

The praise songs (*stoma-*) were veils (? : *pratidhi-*)⁸⁰. The metre was the hair ornament (*kurīra-*), [i.e.] hair-band (? : *opaśā-*). Both *Āśvins* [were] go-betweens (*varā-*, s. below and 3.2.2.; cf. 9b) for Sūryā. *Agni* was the forerunner.

9. *sómo vadhūyūr abhavad | āśvīnāstām ubhā varā |*
sūryām yāt pátye śámsantīm | mánasā savitādadāt ||

Soma became the one who desires a bride (*vadhūyū-*), both *Āśvins* were go-betweens (*varā-*, s. below and 3.2.2.; cf. 8c), when *Savitṛ* gave with the (approving) mind (*mánasā*)⁸¹ Sūryā, who was expressing [her assent], to the husband.

⁷⁴ Cf. Horsch 1966: 10 “1. Raibhī: das Wort stammt von *rebha* ‘Sänger’, ‘Barde’ und bezeichnet deshalb ein Bardenlied”.

⁷⁵ Cf. Geldner 1957, “Amme” ad RV 10,85.6; 135.5, 6.; Graßmann 1873, s.v. f. “die zu überlassende, die Braut (Brautjungfer)”; Whitney “the parting [song] (?)”. Cf. T. Gotō 2017: 240.

⁷⁶ Cf. Horsch 1966: 11: “2. Nārāsaṃsī: ... ‘Männerpreisgesänge’ ...”

⁷⁷ For the verbal and derivative forms of the root *ok/oc/uc/* ‘sich gewöhnen; gewohnt, heimisch werden (get accustomed, become familiar)’, cf. T. Gotō 1993: 133–134. For *ny-ócanī-*, cf. T. Gotō 2017: 240 “*nyócanī* which occurs only here seems literally to mean ‘woman living at home’ or ‘making someone live at home, familiar; accustoming someone to the new family’, thus ‘playmate, Gespielin (Geldner)’ (cf. Geldner 1957: 268 ad 10,85.6 and 367 ad 10,135)”; EWAia s.v. “etwa ‘liebliche’ (RV, AiG II-2,183)”; Whitney “the welcoming one [song] (?)”; Graßmann 1873, s.v. (*nyócanī*), *niocanī* (von *uc* mit *nī*) “wohl als adj. fem. zu fassen: gefällig, lieblich”.

⁷⁸ This stanza is based on the traditional custom that the bride who enters the husband's house is accompanied by her wet nurse and intimate female attendant.

⁷⁹ In ab, RV and AV(Ś) *ā* < *ās* by Sandhi, (P) a *āvat*, b *āvad* (3.sg.ipf. of *av/ū* ‘help’?). For *ās* 3.sg. ipf. of *as/s* ‘exist, be’, cf. T. Gotō 1990: 1005 Anm.109.

⁸⁰ Graßmann 1873, s.v. “Querhölzer an der Wagendeichsel”; Geldner (1957) “die Deichselstangen” with a note “nach Sāy. die Querhölzer der Deichsel”; Whitney (1905) ad AV 14,1.8 “cross-piece” with a note “... the commentators’ explanation of *pratidhi* ‘cross-pieces on the chariot-pole’ is extremely unlikely; it must rather be some article of a woman’s dress.”

⁸¹ *mánasā* may modify c *sūryām* ... *śámsantīm* as well as d. *savitādadāt*. On the former interpretation stands Geldner (1957) “die Sūryā ..., die von Herzen ihr Jawort gab”; on the latter, Graßmann 1873, s.v. *mánas* 17) “(Instr.) mit bereitwilligem oder liebendem Geist.” The latter seems better from the context: in 10 and 12, a cart (*ānas-*) made of mind (*mánas*) brought Sūryā to her husband; in 13, *Savitṛ* sent forth her wedding procession. It is assumed that the wedding

10. *máno asyā ána āsīd* | *dýaur āsīd utá chadiḥ* |
śukráv anaḍvāhāv āstām | *yád áyāt sūryā grhām*⁸² ||

The mind was her cart (ánas-)⁸³ (cf. 12c *áno manasmáyaṃ*). And the heaven was [the cart's] hood. Two white shining [lights]⁸⁴ were two draught animals, when Sūryā traveled to the house [of the husband] (→ fn. 82).

11. *ṛksāmābhyām abhíhitau* | *gávau te sāmānāv itah*⁸⁵ |
*śrót_(a)raṃ*⁸⁶ *te cak_(a)ré āstām* | *diví pánthāś carācarāḥ* ||

Bound by R̥c and Sāman, your two attendant (*sāmāná-*)⁸⁷ oxen go (pres.; AV ipf. → fn. 85). Auditory organ (sg.; AV du. two auditory organs → fn. 86) were (du.; → fn. 86) your two wheels. There [was] a way for going repeatedly (*carācarā-*)⁸⁸ in heaven.

12. *śúcī te cakré yāt.yā* | *vṃyāno ákṣa áhataḥ* |
áno manasmáyaṃ sūryā- | *rohat prayatī pátim* ||

Two purely shining wheels⁸⁹ belonged to you traveling (by cart). Widely spreading breath [was] placed as an axle [on the cart]. Sūryā rode a cart made of mind (cf. 10a; → fn. 83), starting off to [her] husband.

cart is made of the mind of Savitṛ, the god who urges the sun's movement (→ fn. 54) and who, as Sūryā's father, approved her marriage and sent forth her procession.

⁸² AV(Ś) *pátim*, (P) *patim* 'to the husband'.

⁸³ The cart made of mind in 10a and 12c is to be compared with the chariot made of mind in RV 10,135.3b, cf. T. Gotō 2017: 238–240 with fn. 5 and fn. 6, 242.

⁸⁴ They are supposed to be the morning and evening stars, i.e., Ásvin and Nāsatya. Cf. 11b.

⁸⁵ AV(Ś) = (P) *aitām* (ipf.) 'went'.

⁸⁶ AV(Ś) *śrót_(e)*, (P) *śrotre* du. 'two auditory organs'. In the RV, the verb is du. *āstām* according to the predicate, though the subject is in sg.

⁸⁷ Adj. *sāmāná-*, attested only here and RV 3,30.9 (to *bhūmi-*), is considered as a *vṛddhi*-formation from nt. *sāmāna-* 'being together' (→ 2.3. RV 10,55.5, fn. 58) derived from *sám* 'together', to mean 'always being together, accompanying, attendant', maybe hence 'obedient, mild, friendly, kind, etc.', from the relationship between Sūryā and the two oxen (supposedly Ásvin and Nāsatya) acting as go-betweens and, at the same time, the morning and evening stars moving around the sun (→ 10c, fn. 79) in this stanza as well as that between Indra and the earth in 3,30.9. Cf. Graßmann 1873, s.v. *sāmāná-* a. 'gemeinschaftlich, verreint [von *sāmāna*]', Geldner (1957) 3,30.9 'gütige (?) [Erde]', 10,85.11 'freundlichen (?) Rinder', Whitney AV 14,1.11 'peaceful (?)'. For semantic development of derivatives from *sám* 'together', cf. Hoffmann 1975: 494–501, esp. 497–500: Proto-Indo-European *sóm-tijo- 'zusammen seiend, dabei seiend' > Ved. *santya-* (voc. to Agni) 'in Gemeinschaft befindlich, Genosse, Mitbewohner', OHG *samfīl/semfī* 'angenehm, bequem, leicht' (> *sanft*), OE *sēfte* 'angenehm, bequem, mild' (> *soft*). The meaning and etymology of *sāmāná-* together with *sāman-* 'mildness, kindness' and *sāntva-* 'placation' are long in discussion, cf. Witzel 2013: 393, EWAia s.v. *sāman-*, Darms 1978: 170–171, Wennerberg 1981: 220, 306–307 (on *sāman-*).

⁸⁸ *carācarā-* with iterative meaning indicates the sun's daily regular moving in one direction from east to west on his fixed path in heaven in daytime. Cf. Hoffmann "Der vedische Typus *menāmenam*" 1975: 119 "immer weiter (bzw. hin und her) laufend"; AiG II-2, p.85 *carācarā-* 'beweglich' RV 10,85,11d beside *calācalā-* 'wackelnd' 1,164,48d (≈ AiG II-1, 147); Graßmann 1873, s.v. "eine Intensivbildung aus *car* ... 'laufend, sich weithin erstreckend', von dem Pfad der Sonne".

⁸⁹ They imply the morning and evening stars, i.e., Ásvin and Nāsatya.

13. *sūryāyā vahatūḥ prāḡāt* ¹ *ṣavitā yām avāśṛjat* |
*aghāsu*⁹⁰ *hanyante gāvó-* ¹ *rjunyoḥ*⁹¹ *pāri*⁹² *uhyate* ||

The wedding procession of Sūryā, whom Savitṛ sent forth, has just begun to go (aor. indic.). [When the moon stays] at **Aghās** ‘disastrous stars’ (fem.pl.; AV at **Maghās** ‘mighty stars’ → 3.2.4), cattle are slaughtered. At **Arjunīs** ‘two silver-white stars’ (fem. du.; AV at **Phalgunīs** [pl.] ‘at pale stars’ → 3.2.4), [Sūryā] is carried around (from the father’s house to the husband’s house).

3.2.2. Relation among the gods in Sūryā’s marriage

The gods concerned in Sūryā’s wedding procession are Agni, Soma, both Aśvins and Savitṛ. Their relation is not stated plainly but understood as follows.

The binary gods Aśvin and Nāsatya are two phases of the planet Venus, the morning and evening stars (→ 2.5.). Both played an important role of *vará-* for the marriage. *vará-*, derived from *var*ⁱ (*vṛñtē*) ‘choose’, is considered to mean originally ‘one who chooses a marriage-partner for an unmarried, either for oneself or for others’, hence ‘one who asks a father for his daughter, either as one’s own bride or a bride of one’s acquaintance’. Though the former meaning is common, *vará-* is used here in the latter meaning⁹³. Soma (the moon) is described as *vadhūyú-* ‘the one who desires a bride’ in contrast to Aśvins as *vará-* in stanza 9. In this Sūkta, the Aśvins were not Soma’s rival in courting Sūryā but arranged the marriage of Soma and Sūryā.

Sūryā’s father as well as her husband (*pāti-*) are not specified by name. From the context, it is natural to consider Savitṛ as her father and Soma as her husband. Savitṛ ‘stimulator’ is the personification of the driving force belonging to the sun and impels all beings to action; above all, he urges the sun to rise at daybreak. He gave Sūryā to her husband and sent her forth to the husband’s house, and thus played the role of the bride’s father. Soma who desired Sūryā as his bride (st. 5 *vadhūyú-*) is understood to have become her husband (*pāti-*). In stanzas 40–41 (part 5), Soma is mentioned as the first one who obtains the bride in the human wedding ceremony. From the Brāhmaṇas onwards, the marriage between Soma and Sūryā seems to become common knowledge. As to Sūryā’s father, however, there are various views: Savitṛ, Prajāpati, and Sūrya (see just below). According to the AitB and KauṣB, Savitṛ or Prajāpati gave Sūryā to King Soma.⁹⁴ Cf. also the episode that Prajāpati

⁹⁰ AV(Ś) *maghāsu*, (P) *maghāsu*.

⁹¹ AV(Ś) pl. *phālgunīṣu*, (P) *phalgunīṣu*.

⁹² AV(Ś) *vyūhyate*, (P) *vyuhyate*: ‘is carried apart’.

⁹³ Cf. Graßmann 1873, s.v. *vará* ‘Freier, Bräutigam als der wählende’ ad 911(10,85), 8.9.; Geldner 1957: 10,85.8–9 ‘die Werber der Sūryā’ and Anm. ad 8c: “*vará* ist bald der Freier, der für sich wirbt (ĀpGS 3.19), bald der Freiwerber (ĀpGS 4.1) = *varaka-* (ŚāṅkhGS 1,6.1)”. The latter meaning is attested: ĀpGS 1,2.16 *varāḥ*, 2,4.1 *varān*, maybe 1,3.7 *varam*, ŚāṅkhGS 1,6.1 *varakān*; later commonly *dūta-* ‘messenger’.

⁹⁴ AitB 4,7 ≈ KauṣB 18,1.7–9. Both texts explain “*Āśvina Śastra*” composed for Sūryā’s

gave his daughters, i.e., the Nakṣatras, to King Soma in the prose of Black YV (→ 2.4.).

Masculine *sūrya-* and feminine *sūryā-* are to be considered as male and female aspects of the same deity which represents the sun. *sūrya-* is thought to have been transformed into *sūryā-* for marriage with a male god Soma.

However, in other hymns, mostly for Aśvin and Nāsatya, Sūryā is described differently. There are two patterns of episodes as to Sūryā in the RV: 1) her father is Sūrya; she gets on the Aśvins' chariot (*rātha-*) with three wheels drawn by horses, either for the sun's daily movement or for marriage to Aśvin and Nāsatya (the morning and evening stars, i.e., Venus)⁹⁵; 2) her father is Savitṛ; she gets on a cart (*ānas-*) made of mind (*manasmāya-*) with two bright wheels drawn by two bright oxen⁹⁶ for marriage to Soma (the moon). The relation between both the patterns requires further investigation.⁹⁷

3.2.3. Astronomical meaning of Sūryā's wedding procession

In the night preceding Amāvāsyā, the moon rises a little earlier than daybreak. The rising sun chases the moon in the eastern sky until the sun catches the moon. This sun's moving is expressed as Sūryā's wedding procession toward the moon Soma, after which their conjunction, as a wedding ceremony, takes place.

As mentioned above (→ 2.5.), Aśvin and Nāsatya represent two phases of the planet Venus, the morning and evening stars. Observed from the earth, Venus moves around the sun in the distance less than four Nakṣatras. Though its synodic period is independent from the lunation and the solar year, it is not rare that the morning star is seen near the moon precedent to the conjunction in the eastern sky before daybreak. At first, Venus is situated between the moon and the sun. The distance of the moon and the sun decreases every night by one Nakṣatra, while Venus scarcely changes its position related to the sun. As a result, the moon passes Venus and joins with the sun. This positional change is understood to have awakened the thought that Aśvins act as go-betweens for joining the sun and moon.

The procedures of the wedding ceremony underlying the hymn are supposed as follows: The go-betweens choose a man as bridegroom for an unmarried girl and request her father to marry her to this man. If she agrees, the father proclaims that he gives him his daughter. For bride price, the go-betweens bring cattle to the father, a part of which is slaughtered for the feast to welcome them. The bride is

wedding ceremony and refer to Savitṛ as well as Prajāpati as Sūryā's father, which seems to reflect the process of replacement of Savitṛ by Prajāpati.

⁹⁵ Aśvin and Nāsatya became Sūryā's husbands (*pātī*) in RV 4,43.6.

⁹⁶ Two wheels as well as two oxen imply the morning and evening stars, i.e., Aśvin and Nāsatya. In stanza 26 of the fifth part, however, the bride is carried by the Aśvins' chariot.

⁹⁷ It is possible to assume that both come back to a common source at the proto-Indo-European stage, such as the myth that Venus and the moon compete for the sun's daughter, but this problem is beyond this paper. For this myth pointed out by W. Mannhardt and others, cf. Gotō 2009: 38 (:2).

carried by the go-betweens to the bridegroom's house, where the wedding ceremony is held. This style of marriage seems to be found all over the world and suitable for the one who wants to bring his bride from a remote distance and cannot leave his dwelling.⁹⁸ According to the *Gr̥hyasūtras*, however, it is the prevailing custom that, after the engagement, the bridegroom goes to the bride's father's house for the wedding ceremony and then comes back with the bride to his house. This pattern is difficult to apply to Soma (the moon), who can move only in one direction on his path.

3.2.4. Time of Sūryā's wedding procession

St. 13 refers to two Nakṣatra names⁹⁹, which reveal the specific time for/to(?) Sūryā's wedding procession and slaughtering cattle. *aghā-* (f. pl.) 'disastrous [stars]' (renamed *maghā-* 'competent [stars]' AV) are identified with the former part of Leo, i.e., Regulus (Leo α)¹⁰⁰, η¹⁰¹ and γ¹⁰² (Algieba), and so on. *árjunī-* (f. du.) 'two silver-white [stars]' are identified with a pair of white stars on the back of Leo, i.e., δ (Zosma)¹⁰³ and θ (Chertan)¹⁰⁴. In the AV, *árjunī-* (f. du.) is replaced by *phálgunī-* (pl.), which consists of more than three white stars Leo δ (Zosma), θ (Chertan) and β (Denebola)¹⁰⁵ and so on. *phálgunī-* is usually divided into two Nakṣatras: *pūrva-phalugunī-* (du./pl.) 'the former parts of Phalgunī', i.e., Leo δ (Zosma) and θ (Chertan) (, etc.) and *úttara-phalugunī-* (du./pl.) 'the latter part of Phalgunī', i.e., Leo β (Denebola) and neighbouring star(s).

Here arises a question as to the moon age at Aghās and Arjunīs. Both the Nakṣatras immediately succeed one another. Now, Sūryā's procession represents the sun's approaching the moon for the conjunction. Hence, the locatives *aghāsu* and *árjunyoh* are considered to express the moon's position just before the conjunction: cattle are slaughtered when a moon around 27~28 days old stays at Aghās (Leo α Regulus, etc.); Sūryā's wedding procession starts one night later, when a moon around 28~29 days old stays at Arjunī (Leo δ Zosma and θ Chertan); the conjunction occurs near the next Nakṣatra, later called Uttara-Phalgunī, of which the main

⁹⁸ Cf. the legends of Tristan and Isolde, Siegfried and Brünhilde, etc. in which the bride fell in love not with her husband, but with the young and beautiful go-between.

⁹⁹ Here is the first indisputable occurrence of Nakṣatra names in Indian literature, cf. Sakamoto-gotô 2011: 1076. The relation of the Nakṣatras to the rites in human life is treated in TB^m 1,5.1, cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2011: 1080. For the suitable time (including Nakṣatras) for the wedding, cf. KauśS 75.1-4; PārGS 1,4.5-7; ĀśvGS 1,4.1-2; ĀpGS 1,1.2; 2.12-16; 3.1-4 (for slaughtering cattle 1,3.1 and 5-9 → fn. 117).

¹⁰⁰ Celestial longitude 149°49'41", latitude +00°27'52" (J2000.0).

¹⁰¹ Celestial longitude 147°54'18", latitude +04°51'57" (J2000.0).

¹⁰² Celestial longitude 149°37'00", latitude +08°48'53" (J2000.0).

¹⁰³ Celestial longitude 161°19'03", latitude +14°20'00" (J2000.0).

¹⁰⁴ Celestial longitude 163°25'23", latitude +09°40'26" (J2000.0).

¹⁰⁵ Celestial longitude 171°36'56", latitude +12°15'56" (J2000.0).

star is Leo β Denebola.

Another question we confront concerns when this conjunction takes place. In our times (centering on J2000.0),¹⁰⁶ the sun's closest approach to Regulus (\rightarrow fn. 100) occurs around 23 August; that to Denebola (\rightarrow fn. 105) occurs around 14 September, i.e., ca. 85 days later than the summer solstice (around 21 June). The lunar conjunction with the sun nearest Denebola occurs within a synodic month centering on 14 September. Every solar year (ca. 365.24 solar days), the time of the lunar conjunction shifts by ca. 11 days and accordingly the date of the new moon sacrifice changes.

As an example, let us take the conjunction which occurred on 20 September in 2017 at Kabul ($34^{\circ}30'00''$ N; $69^{\circ}12'00''$ E). At 03:19 on 18 September, a moon 27.3 days old rose at the apparent place $148^{\circ}39'01''$ close to Venus ($147^{\circ}32'59''$) and Regulus ($150^{\circ}04'03''$) of Maghās; on this day, oxen should have been slaughtered. At 04:23 on 19 September, a moon 28.3 days old rose at the apparent place $162^{\circ}24'01''$ near Chertan ($163^{\circ}39'43''$) of Arjunīs and the sun rose at 05:32; the wedding procession should have started. The night between 19 and 20 September falls on the Amāvāsyā night in which the moon is practically invisible.¹⁰⁷ At 10:00 on 20 September, the conjunction occurred at the apparent place $177^{\circ}27'10''$, near Denebola ($171^{\circ}37'56''$); the new moon sacrifice should have been performed in the morning of the 20th (\rightarrow fn. 107).

Around 1200 BCE when the RV is considered to have been compiled and fixed in the final form, celestial longitudes of the fixed stars were by ca. 45° less than that in 2000 CE due to the precession of the equinoxes.¹⁰⁸ As a result, the lunar conjunction near Denebola occurred ca. 44.35 days earlier, i.e., approximately 24~54 days (ca. one month) after the summer solstice (in a synodic month centering on 30 July of our calendar), namely in midsummer.

Around 2300 BCE, Regulus is believed to have been very close to the summer solstitial point (celestial longitude 90°).¹⁰⁹ The lunar conjunction after the sum-

¹⁰⁶ The following data are based on Chronological Scientific Tables 2019 and Stella Navigator 11 (2019).

¹⁰⁷ On 19th Sep., the moon set at 17:42 by 19 minutes before the sunset at 18:01. On 20., the moon of 29.3 day rose at 5:25, only by 8 minutes earlier than the sunrise at 5:33, so that the moon must have been invisible by the naked eye. On the same day, the moon of 0.3 day set at 18:18 by 18 minutes later than the sunset at 18:00. The two successive nights from 19th to 21th could be considered as prior and posterior Amāvāsyās (\rightarrow fn. 39), Sinīvālī 'prior conjunction night' and Kuhū 'posterior conjunction night' (\rightarrow fn. 14).

¹⁰⁸ The annual rate of precession of the equinoxes is $50.2911''$ (J2000.5), which is however not quite constant because of the eccentricity of the Earth's orbit.

¹⁰⁹ If we calculate simply by the above-mentioned rate (\rightarrow fn. 108) without taking other astronomical factors into consideration, about 4283 years are necessary for Regulus (celestial longitude $149^{\circ}49'41''$ in J2000.0) to shift to the summer solstitial point (90°): $59^{\circ}49'41''$ ($215381''$) $\div 50.2911'' = 4282.6862...$ years. Hence Regulus is supposed to have been at 90° in 2283 BCE ($2000 - 4283 = -2283$). According to Stella Navigator 11, Regulus's apparent celestial longitude is 90° and latitude $+00^{\circ}20'48''$ from 08. to 10. Nov. 2332 BCE.

mer solstice is considered to occur on the ecliptic between the Nakṣatras Aghās (Maghās) and Uttara-Phalgunī(s).¹¹⁰

There is a high possibility that the Vedic Nakṣatra system was built up on the basis of the astronomical situation around 2300 BCE, cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2011. In this period, the first Nakṣatra Kṛttikās (f. pl.)¹¹¹ ‘weaving women’, identified with Pleiades¹¹², was approximately at the vernal equinox; the new moon at Kṛttikās occurs around the vernal equinox, the full moon around the autumnal equinox.¹¹³ Regulus (→ fn. 100) of Maghās (RV Aghās) was at the summer solstice; the new moon at Maghās occurs around the summer solstice, the full moon around the winter solstice. The winter solstice coincides with the 23rd Nakṣatra Śatābhiṣaj (sg.) ‘that which has a hundred healers’ identified with Aquarius α¹¹⁴ and the autumn equinox coincides with the 15th Nakṣatra Anurādhās (pl. f.) ‘those which follow the success’ identified with Scorpio β (Acraab), δ (Dschubba)¹¹⁵, π and ρ.¹¹⁶

Slaughtering cattle suggests, on the one hand, a feast held by the bride’s father

¹¹⁰ The full moon is considered to stay the closest to Regulus around the winter solstice. Because the theme of this Sūkta is Sūryā’s marriage to Soma, i.e., the lunar conjunction, only the summer solstice comes into question.

¹¹¹ The word *kṛttikā-* (f. pl.) is attested from the AV onward. As Thieme (1987: 965–966) assumes, the enigma stanza RV 1,164.16 seems to imply a group of stars (*stār-* m.pl.) with a female name, most probably *kṛttikā-* (f. pl.) as a Nakṣatra of seven stars; in this regard, Sakamoto-Gotô (2011: 1077) is to be corrected. The preceding stanza (RV 1,164.15) allures a group of seven stars being divine Ṛṣis, of which one stays still (*sthātar/ṛ-*) and others are to be sought (*iṣṭā-*). They are supposed to be Urusa Minor (Small Bear) composed of Poralis and three pairs of inconspicuous stars changing their position around Polaris, notwithstanding Thieme p.334–336 which identifies them with Urusa Major (Great Bear).

¹¹² A cluster in Taurus, known as M 45 and popularly termed “the Seven Sisters”. The brightest star of the cluster is Taurus η Alcyone: celestial longitude 59°58’59”, latitude +04°06’21” (J2000.0); in 2300 BCE, celestial longitude 0°20’, latitude +03°46’ according to Stella Navigator 11.

¹¹³ This implies a calendar system which puts a new year at the autumnal or spring equinox such as the Mesopotamian, the Iranian and the Jewish calendars. In the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras, however, the new year was commonly considered to begin with the month Phālguna or Caitra. Noteworthy is also the Ekāṣṭakā (→ fn. 122, fn. 124), 8th night (and following day) after the full moon of the month Māgha; this full moon falls around the winter solstice in ca. 2300 BCE, see above. For the new year of the Proto-Indo-Iranian and the Iranian calendar, cf. Boyce 1996 (3rd.): I 174, 1982: II 108, Rose 2015: 379–383; for that of the Vedic calendar, cf. Macdonell–Keith 1912: I 421–427 (s.v. Nakṣatra) and II 157–158 (s.v. Māsa).

¹¹⁴ Celestial longitude 333°20’11”, latitude +10°40’49” (J2000.0). In 2300 BCE, supposedly celestial longitude 273°45’, latitude +10°53’ according to Stella Navigator 11.

¹¹⁵ Celestial longitude 242°56’57”, latitude –05°26’34” (J2000.0). In 2300 BCE, supposedly celestial longitude 183°, latitude –01°35’ according to Stella Navigator 11.

¹¹⁶ The Nakṣatra Anurādhās is found between the 14th Nakṣatra Viśākhē (du. nt.) ‘forked’ identified with Libra α and β (Zubeneschama: celestial longitude 229°28’33”, latitude +08°32’59” (J2000.0)) and the 16th Nakṣatra Jyēsthā/Jyēsthā (sg. f.) identified with Scorpio α (Antares: celestial longitude 249°46’08”, latitude –04°32’27” (J2000.0)). About 900 BCE, Jyēsthā was situated approximately at the autumn equinox (celestial longitude 270°) and the month Jaiṣṭha, of which the full moon occurred around Jyēsthā, fell on the spring equinox.

for the go-betweens who arranged the marriage and brought cattle as bride-price,¹¹⁷ on the other hand, the animal sacrifice performed originally around the summer solstice.¹¹⁸ The Gāthās, Stomas, Chandas, Ṛc and Sāman accompanying Sūryā (st. 7, 8, 11) allure a Soma Sacrifice, cf. the Viṣuvant (s. below).

Summing up these points, it is assumed that in the late 3rd millennium BCE, i.e., at a Proto-Indo-Iranian stage, the conjunction immediately after the summer solstice¹¹⁹ was celebrated as the divine marriage of the sun goddess and the moon god, which is a splendid annual new moon sacrifice accompanied by animal and Soma sacrifices.

The summer solstice is the moment in which the sun's energy reaches its climax and begins to decline. Sūryā's wedding procession to Soma after the summer solstice seems to symbolize an explosion of the sun's procreative power and its transfer to the moon. Even today, there are various kinds of summer solstice celebrations joined with customs of courting or marriage, e.g., St. John's Eve.

As a Vedic rite dedicated to the sun in midsummer, composed of Soma and animal sacrifices with Sāmans, we could recall the Viṣuvat performed on the mid-point day of the Gavāmayana, a one-year Sattrā.¹²⁰ According to its timetable in the Śrautasūtras,¹²¹ the Viṣuvat takes place 204 days (21–22 days and a solar half year) after the beginning of its Dīkṣā.¹²² If the Dīkṣā starts originally on the Ekāṣṭakā (the

¹¹⁷ According to the Gṛhyasūtras, cattle (cow, ox, bull) may be slaughtered only in three cases: 1) ancestor-worship, 2) feast of the wedding ceremony, 3) welcoming the guest, cf. e.g. ĀpGS 1.3.1–9 (→ fn. 99).

¹¹⁸ The time for the animal sacrifice independent from the Soma sacrifice differs according to the Śrautasūtras. It is generally repeated yearly or half-yearly, and, in the latter case, originally around the summer and winter solstices. Cf. Schwab 1886: XIII–XV.

¹¹⁹ Consequently, the following remarks in Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 20 and 22 are to be corrected: p.20 “Sūryā's wedding ceremony takes place at the new moon between the months Māgha and Phālguna”, p.22 “Cattle are slaughtered (sacrificed) in the month Māgha, which stands at the end of a year, and the wedding is celebrated in the month Phālguna, at the beginning of a year” (translated from Japanese).

¹²⁰ The Sattrā ‘session for Soma offering’ is a special type of the Soma sacrifice in which Soma pressing continues longer than 12 days; all the participants are Brahmins and serve as priests as well as Yajamānas. The Gavāmayana consists of Dīkṣā ‘consecration’ of 12 days, Upasad ‘attendance (on Soma plant)’ of 12 days and Prasuta ‘continued pressing of Soma’ of a whole year (*saṃvatsara*:- 360 days), cf. BaudhŚS 16,14, etc.

¹²¹ For the procedures of the Gavāmayana, cf. Hillebrandt 1897: 157f.

¹²² As to the time for starting the Dīkṣā of the Gavāmayana, various views are presented in the brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras, e.g., the Ekāṣṭakā “the eighth night (and the following day) in the waning half of the month Māgha” (→ fn. 113, fn. 124), the full moon day of the month Phālguna, Caitra, or four days before the full moon of the month Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, etc. Cf. TS^p 7.4.8.1–3 [Saṃvatsara-sattrā] *saṃvatsarāya dīkṣyāmāṇā ekāṣṭakāyām dīkṣerann. eṣā vai saṃvatsarāsyā pātnī yād ekāṣṭakā. ... phalgunī-pūrṇamāsē dīkṣeran. mūkham vā etāt || 1 || saṃvatsarāsyā yāt phalgunīpūrṇamāsō. ... citrāpūrṇamāsē dīkṣeran. mūkham vā etāt saṃvatsarāsyā yāt citrāpūrṇamāsō. ... caturahē purāstāt paurnamāsyāi dīkṣeran. tēṣām ekāṣṭakāyām krayāḥ sāmpadyate. ...* “Those who are going to consecrate themselves for the whole year (Sattrā) should consecrate themselves on (the day of) the Ekāṣṭakā. This is verily

8th after the full moon at Maghā¹²³), as TS^p 3,3.8.4–5. suggests,¹²⁴ the Viṣuvat falls on the day approximately one month later than the summer solstice around 2300 BCE, just like the above mentioned Sūryā's wedding ceremony. It is hence conceivable that the Viṣuvat was in origin related to the festival around the summer solstice at the Proto-Indo-Iranian period (→ 1.3., fn. 10, 3.2.4., fn. 113, fn. 118, fn. 125).¹²⁵ Its counterpart, the Mahāvratā, performed six months later than the Viṣuvat and on the last day but one of the Gavāmayana, could supposedly go back to the festival around the winter solstice at the same period.

On the other hand, an annual bull-sacrifice related with celestial bodies, such as sun, moon, Venus, constellation Leo, etc., reminds us of the ritual for the sun god Miθra (cf. ved. *mitrā*- orig. 'treaty'), characterized by slaughtering a bull, of which worship spread from Iran to ancient Rome.¹²⁶

the wife of the whole year, if (it is) Ekāṣṭakā. ... They should consecrate themselves on (the day of) the full moon at Phalugunīs. This is verily the front of the whole year, if (it is) the full moon at Phalugunīs. ... They should consecrate themselves on (the day of) the full moon at Citrā. This is verily the front of the whole year, if (it is) the full moon at Citrā. ... Four days before the full moon, they should consecrate themselves. Their purchase (of Soma plant) falls on (the day of) Ekāṣṭakā.”; BaudhŚS 16,13 ... *te caturahe purastān māghyai paurṇmāsyai dīkṣante. teṣām ekāṣṭakāyām krayaḥ sampadyate. ... caturaha eva purastāt phālgunyai vā caitryai vā paurṇamāsyai dīkṣante...* “Four days before the full moon of the month Māgha, they consecrate themselves. Their purchase (of Soma plant) falls on the Ekāṣṭakā. ... They consecrate themselves just four days before the full moon of the month either Phālguna or Caitra. ...”.

¹²³ The full moon at Maghās occurs around the winter solstice about 2300 BCE, see above.

¹²⁴ TS^p 3,3.8.4–5 [burning up of Barhis] (cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2000a: 483, fn. 42): *āhnām vidhānyām ekāṣṭakāyāyām apūpām cātuḥśarāvām paktvā prātar etēna kakṣām ūpaused. yādī || 4 || dāhati puṇyasāmam bhavati. yādī nā dāhati pāpasāmam. etēna ha sma vā īṣayaḥ purā vijñānena dīrghasattrām ūpa yanti.* “After having baked a cake of four dishes on Ekāṣṭakā which rules the division of days (between the old and new years), next morning, one should ignite a bush with this (cake). If [the bush] burns, [the harvest of this year] becomes the same as [that of] a good [year]. If [the bush] does not burn, [the harvest of this year becomes] the same as [that of] a bad [year]. With this cognition (*vijñāna*-), verily, the acient seers used to start the long Sattrā.” For the Ekāṣṭakā which marks the end or the beginning of a solar year, s. above with fn. 113, fn. 122.

¹²⁵ For the relationship of the Viṣuvat and the Mahāvratā to the solstices, cf. Hillebrandt 1889: he admits that the Viṣuvat and the Mahāvratā correspond to the summer and the winter solstice respectively according to most of the Vedic literature (306 [Kl.Schr. 81]), but assumes that the beginning of the Gavāmayana was originally in the month Taiṣa in midsummer, consequently the Viṣuvat at the winter solstice and the Mahāvratā at the summer solstice (313–316 [87–91]).

¹²⁶ Cf. Merkelbach 1984: 9–22, 35, 100–109, 272 (Abb.13: Leo, Regulus, planets, crescent), 302 (Abb.47: around the bull slaughtered, constellations, the sun god, the moon goddess, Hesperus, Lucifer), 324 (Abb.74), etc. In the young Avestan calendar, the 7th month and the 16th day of each month are dedicated to Miθra, cf. Bartholomae 1904 s.v. *miθra*- (*miθrahe* [*mā*], [*ayarā*]), Boyce 1982: II 245–249, Rose 2015: 380–381. From Achaemenian times onward, the annual festival for Miθra (**miθrakāna*-, middle pers. *mihragān*-) is performed on the 16th day of the 7th month (the month of the autumnal equinox), cf. Cumont 1923: 9; Boyce 1996 (3rd.): I 172, 1982: II 33–36, 107–110, Rose 2015: 380–381, 383–385, 387–388.

4. Conclusion

The above examined texts reveal, though partly, how the new moon was celebrated at the stage of the RV and AV:

- 1) Oblations are offered to Agni at every knot-time, probably at the new and full moon (→ 1.1.).
- 2) Soma sap (pure or mixture) is offered to Indra at every knot-time for Soma sacrifice (→ 1.1.).
- 3) The moon's periodical disappearance caused by the conjunction with the sun is given various interpretations, e.g., the moon's cohabitation or marriage with the sun (→ 2.4., 3.2.), the moon's staying overnight at home (*amāvāsyā*- AV+ → 2.1.), Indra's swallowing the moon (→ 2.3.), the gods' consuming the moon as Soma (→ 3.1.).
- 4) Soma sap is offered the gods in the monthly new moon sacrifice based on the equivalence between the moon and Soma as the gods' drink (→ 3.1.).
- 5) The annual new moon sacrifice accompanied by slaughtering oxen or cows takes place in midsummer as the wedding ceremony of the sun goddess Sūryā with the moon god Soma, which is presumed to go back to the celebration of the lunar conjunction with the sun immediately after the summer solstice in the Proto-Indo-Iranian time (→ 3.2.).
- 6) Goddesses such as Sūryā (→ 3.2.), Amāvāsyā (AV+ → 1.3., Ex. 1), Sinīvālī, etc. (→ 1.2.) play important roles. They concern themselves in marriage, conception and birth.
- 7) The periodical change of the moon is considered to correspond with the human cycle of conception, birth, death and rebirth. As result, the new moon sacrifice is combined with the ancestor worship.
- 8) *darśá*- 'the newly appeared moon after the conjunction' (AV+) is not yet used as a ritual name (→ 1.3., Ex. 3).

In the process of compiling the YV, the new moon sacrifice (together with the full moon sacrifice; → 3.2.) traced in the RV and AV underwent a radical change from the worship of the moon (conjunct with the sun) to the worship of Indra (as the sun) parallel with transformation of the Indra's myth of smiting Vṛtra (equated with the moon). The new moon sacrifice named *darśá*- was systematized as the basic form of the Iṣṭi 'sacrifice of dairy and grain oblations' opposed to Soma sacrifice, whereas its ritual framework was made after the model of Soma sacrifice: the principal offering of Sāṃnāyya (a mixture of sour milk *dadhi*- and cooked fresh milk *śṛtá*-) for Indra and the prior offering of Puroḍāśa (a cake) for Agni (→ 1.3., fn. 20, fn. 22, Ex. 6, Ex. 7). On the other hand, Puroḍāśa (a cake) for Indra-Agni was introduced into the Darśa, as the Yajamāna's Anumantaraṇa of the KS suggests, probably first as a sub-

sidary offering, then substituted Sāṃnāyya in case of necessity. For example, TS^p 2.5.5.1–2 prohibits *āsomayājīn*-¹²⁷ ‘one who does not habitually perform the Soma sacrifice’ to offer the Sāṃnāyya,¹²⁸ which implies that *āsomayājīn*- offers another oblation in the Darśa, namely Puroḍāśa to Indra-Agni (→ 1.3., fn. 36, fn. 37, Ex. 6). This prohibition is plainly rejected in ŚB 1.6.4.10–11¹²⁹ and Sāṃnāyya is given superiority to Puroḍāśa in ibid. 3–9. In course of the time, however, Puroḍāśa for Indra-Agni prevailed over Sāṃnāyya for Indra, so that the latter was reduced to a mere variation of the Darśa in the Śrautasūtras.

Now, we will come back to the starting point of this paper, the problem of Soma offering (→ 1.). It is undeniable that Soma sap was offered in the new moon sacrifice at a certain stage of the RV, at least by some tribes. This Soma offering exhibits a striking contrast to the Darśa as representative Iṣṭi, in which Sāṃnāyya is offered as substitute for Soma oblation based on the equation of Dadhi with Soma sap.

It is supposed that, due to the Indo-Aryans’ expansion east into and inside India, the plant Soma which grows in semi-arid zones in high terrains (→ fn. 4) became difficult to obtain, so that Soma oblation was replaced first by Sāṃnāyya, a mixture of sour milk *dadhi*- and cooked fresh milk *śṛtā*-, drink which resembles Soma mixture, then by Puroḍāśa probably on behalf of the uniformity of the new and full moon sacrifices: an twelve-kapāla-cake for Indra-Agni :: an eleven kapāla-cake for Agni-Soma. The pair of Indra-Agni and Agni-Soma was worshipped in the Kāmyeṣṭis and Agnyupasthāna from the beginning of the YV (→ 1.3., Ex. 6.6.B, 6.7.A, 6.8.).

The replacement of Soma mixture by Sāṃnāyya must have been accomplished before the formation of the YV, all of which place the mantras for preparing Dadhi for Indra¹³⁰ at the very beginning of the Saṃhitās. All the mantras and brāhmaṇas unanimously equate Dadhi with Soma sap as well as Sāṃnāyya with Soma mixture (→ Ex. 5) and indicate making Puroḍāśa for Agni.

A similar change of oblations is found in the ancestor worship: Soma sap in the

¹²⁷ Opposed to *somayājīn*- ‘one who habitually performs the Soma sacrifice’. The suffix *-in* expresses a habitual act, cf. AiG III-2 356–357 (: 217c). Nishimura 2016: 237 *somayājīn*- ‘the one who has held the Soma sacrifice’ and *āsomayājīn*- ‘the one who has never held the Soma sacrifice’ are to be corrected. Cp. HirŚS III 7,19 *ijānaḥ somena* (perf. part. → fn.129).

¹²⁸ This prohibition reveals the Taittirīyaka priests’ intention to induce the Āhitāgni to perform the Soma sacrifice. Comparable is the restriction on offering the Agnihotra of the Rājanya: the Agnihotra is allowed only for the Rājanya who habitually performs the Soma sacrifice (*soma-yājīn*-) or habitually speaks the truth (*satya-vādin*-) ĀpŚS 4,15.13 ≈ HirŚS 3,7.19 *ijānaḥ somena* ‘having already performed a Soma sacrifice’, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2020: 224–226, 228–229.

¹²⁹ Nishimura 2016: 237f.

¹³⁰ Namely, the mantras for grazing cows separated from the calves (the first mantra-collection) and the mantras for milking the cows returned from grazing and curdling milk (the 3rd mantra-collection in the Black YV, the 2nd in the VS). All these procedures are indispensable to obtain sufficient quantity of milk for making Dadhi for Indra to be used for Sāṃnāyya offering.

RV and AV¹³¹ in contrast to grain foods such as *piṇḍa*- ‘lump of cooked cereals’ in the Piṇḍapitṛyajña, *puroḍāśa* ‘cake’ (fn.20), *dhānā*- ‘roasted cereals’ and *manthā*- ‘mixture of cereals’ in the Mahāpitṛyajña (a part of the Sākamedha belonging to the Cāturmāsyaṇi), etc., as well as meat foods in the Ekāṣṭakā.

Soma (→ fn. 3, fn. 4) is assumed to have been introduced into the Proto-Indo-Iranian culture from other civilizations, such as BMAC, and to have been adopted into their rituals inherited from the preceding stage.¹³²

As to the new moon sacrifice at the Proto-Indo-Iranian stage, we have no certain evidence. Considering that the new moon symbolizes the periodical cycle of death and rebirth of living beings and is closely related to sexual reproduction, it is supposed that the oblation was originally some liquid food similar to semen, such as sour milk, cooked fresh milk, their mixture, porridge in milk as is used in the Gṛhyatya of the new moon sacrifice (→ 1.3., fn. 46, fn. 47).

Excursus

Ex. 1. AV(Ś) 7,79 (≈ AV[P]-K 1,103): Hymn for *amāvāsyā*- ‘the goddess of the lunar conjunction night’

1. ≈ AV(P)-K 20,32.1; ≈ TS^m 3,5.1.1(b) [Anvārambhaṇīyeṣṭi] (→ 1.2., 1.3., fn. 134, fn. 135, Ex.2.), Pratīka TS^m 4,4.10.3 [Agnicayana], TB^m 1,5.1 [Nakṣatras], VaitS 1,16 ≈ KauśS 5,5 (s. unten), Kauś 59,19; 2. ≈ AV(P) 1,103.4; 3. ≈ AV(P) 1,103.1; TS^m 3,5.1.1(c); 4. AV(P) lacking ≈ AV(Ś) 7,80.3 = AV(P) 20,31.10.

As mentioned above (→ 2.1.), *amāvāsyā*- with or without *rātrī*- (later *rātri*-) means ‘the night (and the following daytime → fn. 2, fn. 40) for staying at home (*amā* → fn. 41) of the moon conjunct with the sun’, i.e., the conjunction night including the following daytime, in which all the gods headed by Indra and the Yajamāna’s ancestors dwell together nearby his fire Agni for the Upavasatha and the new moon sacrifice. In this hymn, *amāvāsyā*- is worshipped as a goddess with oblation *haviṣ*- (→ 1.2., fn. 5).

According to the VaitS and the KauśS,¹³³ this hymn is recited together with the

¹³¹ E.g. RV 10,14.13–15 (≈ AV 18,2.1–3); 15.3 (≈ AV 18,1.45); 15.4.1 (≈ AV 18,2.14), cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 43–49; 2016: 286 (in Japanese), 259 (English summary). Cf. *somyā*- and *saumyā*- ‘the fathers who partake of Soma drink (offered to their king Yama)’ in RV 10,14.6, etc. (→ fn. 153).

¹³² In this reference, we confront the question about the origin of the God-name Indra.

¹³³ VaitS 1,16 *prātar hutvāgnihotram “kuhū devīm”* (AV[Ś] 7,47), “*yat te devāḥ*” (7,79) *ity amā-vāsyāyām*. | “*rākām aham*” (7,48), “*pūrṇā paścāt*” (7,80) *iti paurṇamāsyām*. “After having offered the Agnihotra, [the Yajamāna recites] “*kuhū devīm*” and “*yat te devāḥ*” in the day following the conjunction night (*amāvāsyāyām*), “*rākām aham*” and “*pūrṇā paścāt*” in the day following the full moon night (*paurṇamāsyām*)”. KauśS 5,5 states simply that the hymn for Paurṇamāsī and that for Amāvāśī are recited in the day following the full moon night and the

hymn for Kuhū (AV[Ś] 7,47.1–2 ≈ [P] 20,6.3–4) after the morning Agnihotra in the new moon sacrifice, and the hymn for Paurṇamāsī (→ Ex. 2) with the hymn for Rākā (AV[Ś] 7,48.1–2 ≈ [P] 20,11.8–9 ≈ RV 2,32.4–5) after the Agnihotra in the full moon sacrifice (→ 1.2., fn. 13, fn. 14, fn. 15).

A pair of a Paurṇamāsī stanzas (AV[Ś] 7,80.1 ≈ [P] 1,102.2; → Ex. 2) and an Amāvāsyā stanza (AV[Ś] 79.1 ≈ [P] 20,32.1) are taken into the Taittirīya school: 1) TS^{mp} 3,5.1.1(ab) for oblations to Sarasvant and Sarasvatī (*sārasvatāu hōmau*)¹³⁴ in the Anvārambhaṇīyeṣṭi (introductory rite of the first full moon sacrifice after setting up the sacrificial fires)¹³⁵; 2) in Pratīka TS^m 4,4.10.3 [Agnicayana]¹³⁶; 3) in Pratīka TB^m 1,5.1 [Nakṣatras]¹³⁷. It is noteworthy that the Paurṇamāsī stanza precedes the Amāvāsyā stanza in this pair, corresponding with the performance order after having set up the sacrificial fires: first the full moon sacrifice, then the new moon sacrifice. Cf. further the Pārvaṇa Homa incorporated into the Darśapūrṇamāsau, i.e., the worship of the full moon (*pūrṇamāsa-*) and the night of conjunction (*amāvāsyā-*) with mantras TB^m 3,7.5.13 (y) (≈ AV[Ś] 7,80.2; → Ex. 2) and (z) respectively (→ 1.3., fn. 31).

1. *yāt te devā ākṛṇvan bhāgadheyam* | *āmāvāsyē saṁvāsanto* (P *saṁvadanto*)
mahitvā |
tēnā no yajñām pipṛhi viśvavāre | *rayīm no dhehi subhage suvīram* ||

Your portion that the gods made, O Amāvāsyā, dwelling (P talking) together by the greatness, by that (portion) accomplish our sacrifice, O [goddess] possessed of every boon (*viśvavārā-*)! Distribute wealth with good heroes to us, O [goddess] endowed with good share!

2. *ahām evā- smy amāvāsyā*¹³⁸ | *mām ā (P amā) vasantī*¹³⁹ *sukṛto māvīmē* |
māyi devā ūbhāyē sādhyās cé- | *ndrajyeṣṭhāḥ sāmāgacchanta sārve* ||

I myself am Amāvāsyā. [Coming] toward me, these well-doers dwell in me (P: these well-doers dwell at home in me). In me, both the gods and Sādhyas, all those who have Indra as the chief, assembled (imperf.).

conjunction night respectively: “*pūrṇā paścāt*” (AV 7,80) *iti paurṇamāsyām*. 6. “*yāt te deva ākṛṇvan bhāgadheyam*” (7,79) *ity amāvāsyāyām*.

¹³⁴ Cf. TS^p 3,5.1.4 *sārasvatyai carūr bhavati sārasvate dvādaśakapālo. māvāsyā vai sārasvatī pūrṇamāsaḥ sārasvān*. “For Sarasvatī, porridge is applied [as oblation]; for Sarasvant, cake (Puroḍāsa) baked on twelve kapālas. Sarasvatī is verily Amāvāsyā; Sarasvant is Pūrṇamāsa.”; BaudhŚS 2,21, ĀpŚS 5,23,4.

¹³⁵ Cf. Krick 1982: 490–501.

¹³⁶ Cf. BaudhŚS 10,46 ≈ ĀpŚS 17,6.5–10; MānŚS 4,2.3.8. For piling bricks (*iṣṭakā-*) of the new and full moon beside the Nakṣatra-bricks, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2011: 1079–1080.

¹³⁷ This mantra-collection seems to have served for a popular ritual for the Nakṣatras worship (different from the Nakṣatra-iṣṭis TB^{mp} 3,1.1–6), cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2011: 1080.

¹³⁸ Pāda a has an unusual cadence as a Triṣṭubh: — — ∪ —.

¹³⁹ AV(Ś) Ed. Viśvabandhu v.l. and AV(P)-K 1,103.4 *vasantu*.

sukṣ̥taḥ ‘well-doers’ signifies those who had done good deeds, namely sacrifices for the gods and donations for the Brahmins, in the life on earth and have ascended to heaven after death. In this context, his deceased fathers return to the Yajamāna’s home and stay with all the gods headed by Indra in the Amāvāsyā night. The fathers are worshiped by the Yajamāna’s couple in the afternoon (monthly ancestor worship → 2.1., fn. 48, Ex. 4 AV(Ś) 7,10.19), stay overnight with them by the sacrificial fire (Upavasatha → 2.1., fn. 49), and assist next morning with the new moon sacrifice. By these rites, they are expected to bring brave sons to the Yajamāna’s couple.

3. *āgan rātīr samgāmanī vāsūnām | ūrjām (P viśvam) puṣṭām vās_u v āveśāyantī*¹⁴⁰
*amāvāsyāyati*¹⁴¹ *haviṣā vidhemó- | ṛjām dūhānā (P vasānā) pāyasa na āgan ||*

The night assembling the good (persons/things or the gods: pl. *vāsu-*) has come [just now] (*ā-agan*; aor. for actual past), making nourishment, flourishing [and] good enter [into our house]. We want to allocate (*vidhema*¹⁴²) [her share] to Amāvāsyā by oblation (*haviṣā*; → fn. 5). Yielding (milking) nourishment, with milk, [she] has come [just now] to us.

A wordplay of *vāsu-* is found in ab. Amāvāsyā is described as a cow which milks everything desired, nourishment *par excellence*. Cf. Virāj as a cow (→ 1.2., Ex. 4.).

4. *āmāvāsyē nā tvād etān_y anyó | viśvā rūpāṇi paribhūr jajāna |*
yātkāmās te juhumāś tām no astu | vayām syāma pātayo rayīnām ||

O Amāvāsyā, no one other than you has given birth (perf. *jajāna*) to all these forms, embracing [them]. That which desiring we offer to you, let that (desired) exist as ours. We want to be owners of wealth.

The 4th stanza is lacking in the AV(P) and seems to have been transformed from the stanza beginning with *prājāpate* RV 10,121.10 (hymn for Hiranyagarbha and the god called *ká-* ‘who’) ≈ AV(Ś) 7,80.3 = AV(P) 20,31.10 (→ Ex. 2, fn. 143).

Ex. 2. AV(Ś) 7,80 (≈ AV[P] 1,102): Hymn for *paurṇamāsī* ‘goddess of the full moon (night)’

1. ≈ AV(P) 1,102.2 ≈ TS^m 3,5.1.1(a) [Avnārambhañīyeṣṭi] (→ 1.2., 1.3., Ex.1, fn. 134, fn. 135); Pratīka TB^m 3,1.1(12) [Nakṣatras], MānŚS 6,2.3 [Agnicayana], KauśS 59,19; 2. AV(P) lacking; ≈ TB^m 3,7.5.13 (y) = ĀpŚS 2,20.5; MānŚS 1,3.2.21; 3. ≈ AV(P) 20,31.10; RV 10,121.10 [a god called *ká-*]; MS^m 2,6.12; 4,14.1; TS^m 1,8.14.2 (M); VS 10,20; Pratīka TB^m 2,8.1; KauśS 59,19; etc.; 4. ≈ AV(P) 1,102.1.

paurṇamāsī, derived from *pūrṇamās-* ‘the full moon’, means usually as an abbrevia-

¹⁴⁰ TS 3,5.1.3b *viśvā rūpāṇi vāsūny āveśāyantī*.

¹⁴¹ AV(P)-K -*vāsyāyati*

¹⁴² For *vidhema* (opt. them. root-aor. *vidh-á-*, originated from *vi-dhā*) and the type of opt. -*éma*, etc. belonging to athem. root-aor., cf. Gotō 2013: 95–100.

tion of *paurṇamāśī rātrī-* (*rātrī-*) ‘the full moon night’ (and the following daytime; → fn. 2, fn. 40). In this hymn, however, *paurṇamāśī* is treated rather as the goddess of the full moon itself than that of the full moon night (and daytime). A corresponding masculine deity *paurṇamāsá-* appears in st. 2 (only in the Śaunaka-recension).

This hymn is recited with the hymn for Rākā (AV[Ś] 7,48.1–2 ≈ [P] 20,11.8–9; → 1.2., fn. 13, fn. 14, fn. 15) after the morning Agnihotra in the full moon sacrifice (→ Ex. 1, fn. 133).

For the pair of Paurṇamāśī stanzas (AV[Ś] 7,80.1 ≈ AV[P] 1,102.2) and Amāvāsyā stanza (AV[Ś] 79.1 ≈ AV[P] 20,32.1; → Ex. 1), s. Ex. 1, fn. 134–137.

1. *pūrṇā paścād utā pūrṇā purástād | ún madhyatāḥ paurṇamāśī jigāya |*
tāsyām devāiḥ saṁvāsanto mahitvā | nākasya prṣṭhé sám iṣā madema ||

Full in west and full in east, the full moon night (the goddess of the full moon) has won a victory (perf. *úd ... jigāya*) in the middle (of the sky). Staying together with the gods in her, with the greatness, we want to become intoxicated with nourishment on the upper side of the vault of heaven!

The Yajamānas express their wish for dwelling and becoming intoxicated, assumedly with Soma sap which is at the same time the moon itself, together with gods high above heaven in the full moon. Drinking Soma in the full moon presents a contrast to offering Soma in the new moon sacrifice described in the RV 10,85.4–5; the former causes the moon’s waning and the latter its waxing (→ 3.1.). This wish is supposed to be applied to the next life of the Yajamānas, for, at latest from the YV onward, he has to observe his duty of fasting during the full moon night (→ 1.3., fn. 29, 2.1., fn. 49) and that any intoxicating drink is offered in the full moon sacrifice. For the concept that the dead enter the moon, cf. st. 4 and AV[Ś] 7,81.5 (→ Ex. 3); for their becoming intoxicated in the middle of heaven, cf. RV 10,14.7–8; 15.14 [Yama-Sūkta].

2. *vṛṣabhām vājīnaṁ vayāṁ | paurṇamāsām yajāmahe |*
sá no dadāt y ákṣitām | rayīm ánupadasvatīm ||

We worship the full moon god (*paurṇamāsá- m.*) as a victorious bull. Let him give us unexhausted, imperishable wealth!

In this stanza wanting in the AV(P), *paurṇamāsá- m.* appears instead of *paurṇamāśī-* as a masculine deity of the full moon. This stanza is used for the Pārvaṇa-homa included in the Darśa.

3. *prajāpate na tvad etāṇy anyó | víśvā rūpāṇi paribhūr jajāna |*
yátkāmās te juhumās tán no astu | vayāṁ syāma pátaḥ rayiṇām ||

O Prajāpati, no one other than you has given birth (perf. *jajāna*) to all these forms, embracing [them]. That which desiring we offer to you, let that exists as ours. We want to be owners of wealth.

It is strange that a stanza calling to Prajāpati, which is the same as RV 10,121.10,¹⁴³ is concluded in the hymn for Paurṇamāsī. A parallel with *āmāvāsye* for *prājāpate* appears in AV[Ś] 7,79.4 (→ Ex. 1).

4. *paurṇamāsī prathamā yajñīyāsīd* |
āhnām rātrīṇām atīśarvaréṣu (P [K] *uta śavaréṣu*) |

yé tvām yajñáir yajñīye ardháyant y (P *bodhayanti*) |
amī te nāke sukṛtaḥ praviṣṭāḥ (P *paretāḥ*) ||

The goddess of the full moon was (ipf.) the first one to be worshiped at the times after having crossed over the covers (*atīśarvaréṣu*)¹⁴⁴ of days and nights. Those who make you prosperous, O worthy of sacrifice, by sacrifices, those well-doers (*sukṛt-*) have entered into your celestial vault (*nāka-*).

¹⁴³ This is the additional last stanza answering the question “to which god can we serve (*vid-hema*)” in stanza 1–9 of the hymn for Hiranyagarbha.

¹⁴⁴ The original meaning of *śarvará-*, attested only in the compound with *āpi-* (RV+) or *āti-* (AV, s. below), is not clear as well as that of *śárvarī-* (RV 5,52.3, AitB 4,5 [s. below]) which is used in the sense ‘night’ in the epic and classical Skt. *atī-śarvará-* is attested twice, here with *āhnām rātrīṇām* and AV[Ś] 4,5.4 (AV[P] 4,6.4) with *rātrīṇām*, s. below. If *śarvará-* and *śárvarī-* go back to *śar* ‘cover’ (cf. *śarman-*) with *-vara-* (cf. AiG II-2, p. 906–907) from *-van/-var-* (cf. AiG II-2, p. 903), they are understood to signify something which covers each daytime and night-time for protecting and distinguishing them, such as the bright or dark celestial vault, atmosphere, brightness or darkness itself. In this stanza, *atīśarvaréṣu* is considered to mean the times after passing over a number of bright day skies and dark night skies, assumedly daybreaks, in that the goddess Paurṇamāsī is worshipped in the beginning of the full moon sacrifice held in the morning; according to VaitS 1,16 (→ fn. 133), after the morning Agnihotra at sunrise. — AV[Ś] 4,5.4 [(P) 4,6.4] *ējadejad ajagrabham* | *cákṣuḥ prāṇām ajagrabham* | *āṅgāny ajagrabham sárvā* | *rātrīṇām atīśarvaré* (P) *uta śarvare* “That which repeatedly moves, I grasped (*ajagrabham*), the sight, the breath, I grasped (*ajagrabham*); all limbs, I grasped (*ajagrabham*), at time of passing through the cover (darkness) of nights (i.e., at every time I got through the darkness of nights)”. *rātrīṇām* in plural suggests that *ajagrabham* (imperfect from pref.) expresses an act repeated in the past, not directly related to the actual state, in opposition to pres. *svāpayāmasi* ‘I make (them) sleep’ in the neighbouring stanzas (1. and 3.). Fort the “naktostatisch-attigent” meaning “ergriffen halten, haben, besitzen” of the perf. *jagrābh-/jagrbh-*, cf. Kümmel 2000: 163–165 (however, p. 165 “...alle Glieder habe ich ergriffen in der Tiefe der Nacht”). Hardly Whitney “in the depth (*atī-śarvará-*) of the night” based on the comm. as well as AiG II-1, p. 90 = EWAia (s.v. *śárvarī-* f. Nacht) *atīśarvaré[ṣu]* ‘tief in der Nacht’ is difficult. — For *api-śarvaré* loc. sg. RV 3,9.7 (Geldner 1957, Witzel 2013 ‘zu Beginn der Nacht’), 8,1.29 (Geldner 1957 ‘bei Einbruch der Nacht’), cf. Graßmann 1873, s.v. *api-śarvará-* “adj. an die Nacht grenzend; nt. Frühmorgen” following PW s.v. “an die Nacht angrenzend, am Ende der Nacht befindlich; Frühmorgen”. For prep. *api*, cf. Delbrück 1888: 447–448 ‘in, auf, über, ab’ only with loc. Exceptionally, *api* with abl. appears AitB 4,5 (16,5) *api śarvaryā anusmasīty abruvann. apiśarvarāṇi khalu vā etāni chandāmsīti ha smāhai-. tāni hīndram rātres tamaso mṛtyor bibhyatam atyapārayams. tad apiśarvarāṇām apiśarvaratvam*. [The metres] said: “We arrive (*anu-as*, cf. Delbrück 1888: 444 ‘gelangen zu, erreichen’) across over the (nocturnal) celestial vault (*śarvarī-*)”. Namely, [the metres] made Indra, who was fearing for night, darkness, death, cross [them] over night. That is the essential nature of those (metres) named *apiśarvara-* “over the nocturnal cover (darkness)” (Keith “boarding on night”). — Zehnder 1993: 176 translates *atīśarvaréṣu* “an den Übergängen (?) der Tage (und) der Nächte” with a note referring to RV 8,1.29 *apiśarvaré* ‘am Abend (?)’.

Worshipping the full moon goddess first of all reminds us that, after setting up the sacrificial fires, the cycle of the Darśapūrṇamāsau begins with the full moon sacrifice preceded by the Anvārambhañīyeṣṭi (→ 1.2., 1.3., Ex.1, fn. 134, fn. 135). For the Yajamāna's entering into the moon's heaven after death, cf. st. 1 and AV[Ś] 7,81.5 (→ Ex. 3).

Ex. 3. AV(Ś) 7,81: Hymn for *dārśa*- 'the newly appeared moon'

1–2. AV(Ś) 14,1.23–24; AV(P) 18,3.2–3; RV 10,85.18–19 (→ 2.2., fn. 50, 3.4.); ≈ AV(P) 19,40.8 and 20,31.7; ≈ MS^m 4,12.2:181.3–6; 1. AV(Ś) 13,2.11; TB^m 2,7.12.2; 2,8.9.3; 2. KS^m 10,12:141.11–12; TS^m 2,4.14.1(a) [Kāmyeṣṭi] (HirGS 1,5.16.1); TS^p 2,3.5.3; TB^m 2,7.12 (2), etc.; 3. AV(P) lacking; 4. a = AV(P) 20,43.4a; 5. ab = AV(P) 20,43.6ab; 6. ≈ AV(P) 1,102.4 [Paurṇamāsī]; ≈ MS^m 4,9.27:140.3; 4,12.2:181,7; KS^m 10,12: 141.9–10; TS^m 2,4.14.1(b) [Kāmyeṣṭi]; MānvŚS 5,1.10.18; ab ≈ AV(P) 20,43.5ac.

St. 1–2, in which the correlative movement of the sun and the moon (*candrā-mas-*) is described, are the same as RV 10,85.18–19 (→ 2.2., fn. 50, 3.4.) with a few variants.¹⁴⁵ Their parallels are found further in AV(Ś/P), MS^m, KS^m, TS^m, TB^m, etc.

In st. 3–4, we find the first occurrence of the word *dārśa*.¹⁴⁶ which means 'the newly appeared moon after the conjunction', but not yet 'the new moon sacrifice'.

3. *sómasyāṁśo yudhām paté* ¹ *nūno nāma vā asi* |
ánūnam dārśa mā kṛdhi ¹ *prajāyā ca dhánena ca* ||

O plant (stem) of Soma, Lord of battles, you are verily "not wanting" by name. O Darśa (the newly appeared moon after the conjunction), make me "not wanting" both in offspring and in wealth.

The newly appeared thin moon is compared to the plant (stem) of Soma in thin shape (→ fn. 4); both are expected to swell, s. below the stanza 6.

4. *darśó 'si darśató 'si sámagro 'si sámantaḥ* |
sámagraḥ sámanto bhūyāsam góbhīr áśvaiḥ prajāyā paśúbhīr gṛhāir dhánena ||

You are Darśa (→ fn. 110), you are good-looking (*darśatá-*), you are complete with front, complete with end. Being complete with top, complete with end, I wish to become provided with cows, horses, offspring, cattle, houses, wealth.

5. *yò 'smān dvéṣṭi yám vayám dviśmās* ¹ *tásya tvám prāṇenā pyāyasva* |
ā vayám pyāsiṣmahī góbhīr áśvaiḥ prajāyā paśúbhīr gṛhāir dhánena ||

The one who hates us, [the one] whom we hate, swell with the breath of this one! We wish to swell with cows, horses, offspring, cattle, houses, wealth.

¹⁴⁵ 1d. AV *jāyase návaḥ* :: RV *jāyate púnah*; 2d. AV *candramas tirase* :: RV *candrāmās tirate*.

¹⁴⁶ The noun *dārśa-* might have been converted from an unreduplicated perf. (1.3. sg. act.): "I have (one has) just seen and am (is) seeing [the moon newly after the conjunction]".

This stanza is based on the concept that the moon swells with breath of the dead, in other words, the vital function of the dead goes into the moon,¹⁴⁷ which seems to underlie the first Śloka in JB 1,18 ≈ 49 and KauṣU 1,2.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, AV(Ś) 7,80.4 and most probably 1 state that the dead enter the moon's world (→ Ex. 2). This notion, developed in the Brāhmaṇas, was combined with "Pitṛyāna" and integrated into the "Two-way-Doctrine" in the Upaniṣads.¹⁴⁹

6. *yám devá aṃśúm āpyāyānti | yám ákṣitam ákṣitā bhakṣāyanti |
tēnāsmān indro váruṇo bṛhaspátir | ā pyāyāntu bhūvanasya gopāḥ ||*

The Soma plant (*aṃśú-*) that the gods swell, the inexhaustible (Soma plant) that the inexhaustible [gods] consume, by that (Soma plant, i.e., the moon) let Indra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Protectors of the world (*bhūvana-*) swell us!

The Soma plant (*aṃśú-*; → fn. 4) of a thin and long shape is a metaphor of the newly appeared thin moon which the gods swell and consume. This stanza implies offering Soma sap in the new moon sacrifice, cf. RV 10,85.5 (→ 3.1.).

Ex. 4. AV(Ś) 8,10.18–21: Hymn for Virāj

The origins of the rites of yearly, monthly, half-monthly and daily offering (corresponding to Animal sacrifice, Piṇḍapitṛyajña, new and full moon sacrifices and Agnihotra respectively) are explained from the viewpoint of wandering of Virāj that is the female principle representing vitality based on nourishment which turns into food and oblation.

18. *sód akrāmat. sá vánaspátīn āgachat. tāṃ vánaspátayo 'ghnata. sá saṃvatsaré
sám abhavat. | tásmād vánaspátīnāṃ saṃvatsaré vṛkṣāṃ āpi rohati. vṛścāte
(+vṛścāte) śyāpriyo bhrātṛvṛyo yá evāṃ véda ||*

She (Virāj) stepped out. She came to the trees ("lords of the forest": *vanaspati-*). The trees slaughtered her. She came into existence in a year. Therefore, even that which was cut down (nt. *vṛkṣām*) of the trees grows in a year. If one thus knows, the rival of this one is cut down.

A tree (*vanaspati-* 'lord of the forest') is once a year cut down, supposedly for the post (*yūpa-*) to which the victim is fastened in the Animal sacrifice. Virāj represents the animal (e.g., a cow) which is slaughtered and regenerates itself as an offspring (e.g., a calf) in a year. By contrast, the latter half of the stanza describes the yearly growth of shoots of the trees that were cut down. As a whole, the stanza explains the yearly cycle of death and rebirth in the animal and plant kingdoms.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Different from RV 10,16.3: breath (*ātmán-*) of the dead enters the wind.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 26–27, 56–60, 100.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 62–70. (7.5.; 7.5.2. BĀU[M] 6,1.19 [K 6,2.16]; 7.5.3. ChU 5,10.4; 7.6. KauṣU 1,2).

¹⁵⁰ The explanation in Sakamoto-Gotō 2001: 163 Anm. 15 'Gemeint sind jeweils: das Feldverbrennen zum Jahreswechsel...' is to be corrected.

19. *sód akrāmat. śā pitṛñ āgachat. tāṃ pitáro 'ghnata. śā māśi sám abhavat. |
tāsmāt pitṛbhyo māsy upamāsyam dadati. prā pitṛyānam pānthām jānāti yā
evām véda. ||*

She stepped out. She came to the fathers. The fathers slaughtered her. She came into existence in a month. Therefore, [people] give to the fathers monthly (oblation: *upamāsyam*) in a month. If one thus knows, [this one] understands in advance (i.e., before one's death: *prā ... jānāti*) the way through which the fathers travel (*pitṛyānam pānthām*).

Virāj becomes the oblation for the monthly ancestor worship, i.e., Piṇḍapitṛyajña or Śrāddha, which is related to *pitṛyānam pānthām* 'the way through which the fathers travel' between their world in heaven and the place of sacrifice on earth.

20. *sód akrāmat. śā devān āgachat. tāṃ devā aghnata. sārddhamāśe sám abhavat. |
tāsmād devébhyo 'rdhamāśe vāṣaṭ kurvanti. prā devayānam pānthām jānāti yā
evām véda. ||*

She stepped out. She came to the gods. The gods slaughtered her. She came into existence in a half-month. Therefore, [people] make the utterance "vāṣaṭ" (for offering to gods) in a half-month. If one thus knows, [this one] understands in advance (i.e., before one's death) the way through which the gods travel (*devayānam pānthām*).

Virāj becomes the oblation for the half-monthly worship of the gods, i.e., the new and full moon sacrifice, which is related to *devayāna- pānthā-* 'the way through which the gods travel' between their world in heaven and the place of sacrifice on earth.

21. *sód akrāmat. śā manuṣyān āgachat. tāṃ manuṣyā aghnata. śā sadyāḥ sám abhavat. |
tāsmān manuṣyébhyo ubhayadyúr ūpa haranty. ūpāśya grhē haranti yā
evām véda. ||*

She stepped out. She came to Manu's descendants. Manu's descendants slaughtered her. She came into existence in the same day. Therefore [people] bring [meals] to Manu's descendants at both ends of a day (evening and morning: *ubhayadyūḥ*). If one thus knows, [people] bring [meals] in the house of this one.

This stanza explains the origin of human mealtime, twice a day, in the evening and morning, and suggests the custom of bringing a meal to those who are honorable, assumedly brahmins. This is associated with the Agnihotra, offering meal to the sacrificial fire Agni, twice a day just before the human mealtime.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Bringing a meal to the Brahmin is considered a substitute for the Agnihotra for the Rājanya who is forbidden from offering the Agnihotra in the earliest brāhmaṇas (MS^p 1,8.7:126.17–127.4 [Agnihotra], KS^p 6,6:56.1–4, KpS^p 4,5.7), cf. Sakamoto-Gotô 2001: 166f., Anm. 22; 2020: 210f, 220–227.

Ex. 5. The mantras for curdling milk for Indra in the YV

In the conjunction night (Amāvāsyā), boiled fresh milk is curdled to *dādhi*- ‘sour milk’; next morning, this is mixed with boiled fresh milk (*śṛtā*-) and offered to Indra as the Sāmnāyā. The mantra for curdling milk to Dadhi for Indra is common to all the YV-Saṃhitās with slight variations of wording:

MS^m 1,3:2.10f *indrāya tvā bhāgām sómenātanacmi*.

For Indra, I curdle you (milk) as [his] share **with/by Soma**.

KS^m 1,3:2.7 = KpS^m = VS 1,4 *indrasya tvā bhāgām sómenātanacmi*.

As Indra’s share, I curdle you (milk) **with/by Soma**.

TS^m 1,1.3.1 *sómena tvā tanacmīndrāya dādhi*.

With/by Soma, I curdle you (milk), for Indra, to Dadhi.

The acc. *tvā* designates the milk which is milked and boiled immediately before the curdling. The TS^m alone adds *dādhi* as a resultative acc.

sómena is a puzzling expression.¹⁵² The instr. with the verb *ā-taṇc* usually expresses the means of curdling, i.e., a certain substance which causes or accelerates curdling milk to Dadhi, see below and fn. 154). Considering the difficulty of obtaining the Soma plant, it is not conceivable that real Soma (sap or plant) was actually used for making Dadhi at the time of the YV (→ 4.). The expression *sómena* could be a trace of having used Soma sap or plant as a curdler in the preceding period, or more probably a metaphor of something else such as the moon or Dadhi: ‘together with the moon called Soma’ or ‘by means of Dadhi equivalent with Soma sap’.

The moon was equated with Soma as early as in the RV (→ 4.). It was a general conception in the Black YV that the moon Soma stays with the sun on earth in the Amāvāsyā night, presumably in the Āhavanīya fire of the Yajamāna (→ 2.1., fn. 42, fn. 46, fn. 64) and a close relationship between the priests and Soma was emphasized (→ 2.1., fn. 64). Hence, *sómena* could express the assistance of the moon Soma in making Dadhi in the Yajamāna’s residence.

On the other hand, the most common curdler is Dadhi itself. In fact, TS^p 2,5.3.1–7 [Darśapūrṇamāsau] (→ fn. 23, fn. 47, Ex. 7.2, 7.3) states that Dadhi for Indra, discovered by himself for recovery of virility characteristic of Indra (*indriyā*-), is curdled by the Dadhi made of the rest of the preceding Agnihotra:

... *indro vṛtrām hatvā devātābhiḥ cendriyēṇa ca vy ārdhyata. sá etám āgneyám aṣṭakapālam amāvāsyāyām apaśyad aindrām dādhi. || 1 || ... || 4 || ... yát pūṭikair vā parṇavalkair vātancyāt saumyám tād. yát kvālai rākṣasám tād. yát taṇḍulair*

¹⁵² This word is not explained in the related brāhmaṇas (see below), nor in the translation “with Soma” by Keith 1914: I 192, Nishimura 2016: 231.

vaiśvadevām tād. yád ātāñcanaena mānuśām tād. yád dadhnā tát séndram. dadhnātanakti. || 5 || sendratvāyā-. gñihotroccheṣaṇām abhyātanakti. yajnāsya sāmtatyā. ...

1. ... Indra, having smitten Vṛtra, was deprived of divinities (i.e., vital functions) and the characteristic of Indra (i.e., vigour, manliness, virility: *indriyā-*). He saw (discovered) **the eight-kapāla [Puroḍāśa] for Agni in the Amāvāsyā night**, [and] **Dadhi for Indra**. 2. ... 5. ... If one would curdle (opt.) [milk to Dadhi] by Pūtikas (stinking herbs) or bark of the Paṇa tree, then [that Dadhi would] belong to the Fathers (*saumyā-*)¹⁵³. If by jujubes, then [that would] belong to Rakṣas (harmful being). If by threshed grain (barley or rice), then [that would] belong to Viśve Devāḥ (All Gods or a certain group of gods). If by *ātāñcana-* (a special kind of curdler)¹⁵⁴, then [that would] belong to Manu's descendants (mankind). If by Dadhi, then [that would be] accompanied by Indra. **One curdles (indic.) [milk to Dadhi] by Dadhi**. 6. For being accompanied by Indra. **One curdles making use of (abhī)**¹⁵⁵ **the rest of the Agni-hotra (oblation, i.e., milk)**. For the continuity of the sacrifice. ...

The equivalence of Dadhi with Soma sap is revealed also in the relevant brāhmaṇas.

MS^p 4,1.3:2.10–12 *indrāya tvā bhāgām sómenātanacmīti. sómam evāinat karoti. tāsyā ha tvāi somapīthāḥ sāmtato yā evām vidvānt sānnāyāṃ pībati.*

[The priest utters:] “For Indra, I curdle you (milk) as [his] share with/by Soma.” **[He] makes this (milk) into the very Soma (sap) as a result**. On the other hand, his **drinking Soma** (i.e., his performing the Soma sacrifice) is verily uninterrupted, when [a Yajamāna] who thus knows **drinks Sānnāyā (Dadhi mixed with cooked fresh milk)**.

KS^p 31,2:3.12–14 ≈ KpS^p 47,2:2335.19 *indrasya tvā bhāgām sómenātanacmīti. *sómam (Ms. somām, according to Schroeder so in the KpS) evainam (KpS evainam, Ms. evaitat) karoti. somo vai devānām parokṣam sannāyāṃ. tasya ha tvai somapīthās sāmtato yā evām vidvānt sānnāyena yajate.*

[The priest utters:] “As Indra's share, I curdle you (milk) with/by Soma.” **[He] makes this (KS share m., KpS milk n.) into the very Soma (sap) as a result**. **Sānnāyā is verily Soma (oblation) in secret expression of the gods**. On the other hand, his drinking Soma (i.e., his performing the Soma sacrifice) is verily uninterrupted, when [a Yajamāna] who thus knows performs his sacrifice with the Sānnāyā.

TB^p 3,2.3.10f. *sómena tvā tanacmīndrāya dādhitvā āha. | 10 | sómam evāinat karoti. | yó vai sōmam bhakṣayitvā | samvatsarām sōmam ná pībati | punarbhákṣyo 'sya somapīthó bhavati. | sōmah khālu vai sānnāyāṃ. | yā evām vidvānt sānnāyāṃ pībati | apunarbhákṣyo 'sya somapīthó bhavati. ||*

¹⁵³ *saumyā-* adj. ‘belonging to Soma’ and subst. ‘fathers who partake of Soma drink’ (RV+). In the RV, Soma juice is offered to the fathers in the ancestor worship (→ 4., fn. 131).

¹⁵⁴ *ātāñcana-* is originally a general term for ‘curdler’ including Dadhi and various plants, but in this text, designates a special kind of curdler, maybe more effective and artificial.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Delbrück 1888: 448f. Häufig tritt *abhī* zu dem Nomen, welches zu dem Verbum gehört, derart in innerliche Beziehung, dass wir es “mit Beziehung auf, zum Nutzen oder Schaden übersetzen... Ganz besonders häufig ist dieser Gebrauch, wenn *abhī* die erste von zwei Präpositionen ist, ...”.

[The priest] utters: “With Soma, I curdle you (milk), for Indra, to Dadhi.” **[He] makes this (milk) into the very Soma (sap) as a result.** When [a Yajamāna] verily does not drink Soma for a whole year after having tasted Soma (i.e., performed the Soma sacrifice), drinking Soma becomes to be tasted (i.e., the Soma sacrifice becomes to be performed) by him again. **Sāṃnāyya is, as is well-known, Soma (oblation).** When [a Yajamāna] drinks Sāṃnāyya knowing thus, drinking Soma becomes not to be drunk again by him.

All these brāhmaṇas declare unanimously that milk changes into *sóma-*, which is actually Dadhi, based on the premise that Dadhi for Indra is the same as Soma sap. On the other hand, drinking Sāṃnāyya is considered to substitute for drinking Soma in the Soma sacrifice. This leads us to conclude that Sāṃnāyya, a mixture of Dadhi and milk, corresponds, not to pure Soma sap, but to a mixture of Soma sap and milk, usually used in Soma sacrifice (→ fn. 3). It is remarkable that this substitution is premised on the necessity to perform periodically (at least yearly) the Soma sacrifice, once an Āhitāgni has begun it. For periodical performance of the Soma sacrifice, see 1.1. RV 1,9.1; fn. 6, fn. 9–11.

Ex. 6. Deities, oblations and mantras for the Darśapūrṇamāsau in the early stage of the YV

Strangely enough, the concrete procedures of the main offerings of the Darśapūrṇamāsau are missing in the MS, KS and TS.¹⁵⁶ As a result, deities, oblations, mantras recited by the priests, esp. Yājyās and Anuvākyās recited by the Hotṛ, are not clear. On the other hand, the Anumantraṇas recited by the Yajamāna are recorded in the mantra- and prose-portion of the KS and TS and inform us of the name of deities. A systematic treatment of the whole ritual procedures appears first in the TB 3,2.1–10; 3,3.1–11; 3,5.7; 3,7.1–6.11; the Yājyās and Anuvākyās for principal deities, i.e., Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, Indra or Mahendra are found in TB^m 3,5.7.2–4 (→ Ex. 6.5.).

Ex. 6.1. The mantras and brāhmaṇas for making the Puroḍāśa

The mantras which give names of the deities offered the Puroḍāśa ‘sacrificial cake’ (→ fn. 20) in the Darśapūrṇamāsau are limited, namely the mantras for Nirvapana ‘taking (strewing) out (grains from the cart into a bowl)’¹⁵⁷ and Prokṣa ‘sprinkling water (on the grains taken out)’ common to all the YV-Saṃhitās (MS, KS, TS, VS) and those for dividing dough found only in the TS and the VS. The phrase *yācchantu*

¹⁵⁶ In the MS, Yājyās and Anuvākyās for various Iṣtis are collected in the chapter of Hauthra in the last volume (MS^m 4,10.1–12.3), but their application to offerings of the Darśapūrṇamāsau is not mentioned.

¹⁵⁷ Grains are taken from a bag on the cart into a bowl of mortar (*ulūkhala-*), s. Dharmadhikari 1989: 22 and 26. According to the Śrautasūtras, they are taken into a bowl of Agniotrahavaṇī (ladle for the Agniotra). S. below with fn. 158.

*pāñca*¹⁵⁸ ... in the MS and KS fails in the TS and VS; in the VS, the succeeding mantra begins with *bhūtāya tvā nārātaye*.

A. Mantras for Nirvapana

MS^m 1,1.5:3.5 *devāsya vaḥ savitūḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhūbhyāṃ pūṣṇo hāstābhyāṃ. yacchantu pāñca gopīthāya vo nārātaye. agnāye vo jūṣṭān nīrvapāmi. amúṣmai vo jūṣṭān.*

At the god Savitṛ's urging, with Aśvins' two arms, with Pūṣan's two hands, I take you (grains: pl.) out [from the cart]. Let the five (fingers) hold you up for protection, not for hostility (→ fn. 158). **For Agni**, I take out you which are agreeable. **For So-and-So** (s. below), [I take out] you which are agreeable.

KS^m 1,4:2.14f. *devasya tvā savitūḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhūbhyāṃ pūṣṇo hāstābhyāṃ agnāye jūṣṭāṃ nīrvapāmi. yacchantu tvā pañca rakṣāyai tvā nārātaye.*

At the god Savitṛ's urging, with Aśvins' two arms, with Pūṣan's two hands, **for Agni**, I take out you (sg.) which is agreeable. Let the five [fingers] hold you (grains) up for protection, not for hostility.

TS^m 1,1.4 (m) *devāsya tvā savitūḥ ... agnāye jūṣṭān nīrvapāmi agnīśómābhyāṃ.*

At the god Savitṛ's urging ... **for Agni**, I take out you (sg.) agreeable, **for Agni-Soma**.

VS (M) 1,10 (VS [K] 1,3.6–7) *devāsya tvā savitūḥ ... | agnāye jūṣṭān grhṇāmy. agnīśómābhyāṃ jūṣṭān grhṇāmi.*

At the god Savitṛ's urging ... **for Agni**, I grasp you (pl.) agreeable. **For Agni-Soma**, I grasp you (pl.) agreeable.

B. Mantras for Prokṣa

MS^m 1,1.6:3.10 *agnāye vo jūṣṭān prókṣāmy. amúṣmai vo jūṣṭān.*

For Agni, I sprinkle water on you (pl.) agreeable. **For So-and-So**, [I sprinkle water] on you (pl.) agreeable.

KS^m 1,5:2.20 *devasya tvā savitūḥ ... agnāye jūṣṭān prókṣāmi.*

At the god Savitṛ's urging ... **for Agni**, I sprinkle water on you (sg.) agreeable.

TS^m 1,1.5.1 (e) *agnāye vo jūṣṭān prókṣāmy agnīśómābhyāṃ.*

¹⁵⁸ Although *pāñca* in the MS^m and KS^m is interpreted as five seasons in MS^p 4,1.5:6.18–7 and KS^p 31,3:4.12–14 (→ Ex. 6.2.), the term could originally mean the five fingers of the priest who takes out grains. According to the Śrautasūtras, grains are taken out by means of the Agnihotrahaṇī (ladle for offering the Agnihotra) with a purifying strainer.

For Agni, I sprinkle water on you (pl.) agreeable. **For Agni-Soma** [I sprinkle water on you (pl.) agreeable].

VS (M) 1,13= (K) 1,4.3 *agnáye tvā jūṣṭaṃ prókṣāmy. agnīśómābhyām tvā jūṣṭaṃ prókṣāmy.*

For Agni, I sprinkle on you (sg.) agreeable. **For Agni-Soma**, I sprinkle on you (sg.) agreeable.

C. Mantras for dividing dough (wanting in the MS^m and KS^m)

TS^m 1,1.8 (f) *agnáye tvā- gñīśómābhyām.*

For Agni, [I take] you (sg.). **For Agni-Soma** [I take] you (sg.).

VS (M) 1,22 = VS(K) 1,8.2 *idām agnér. idām agnīśómāyor.*

This belongs to **Agni**. This belongs to **Agni-Soma**.

Common to all the YV mantras, the Puroḍāśa is dedicated to Agni as a single deity (→ 1.1. RV 1,94.4; 1.3., fn. 20, fn. 23, fn. 4.). As to other deities, there is diversity among the schools: *amúṣmai* MS^m (1,1.5:3.5; 1,1.6:3.10); **no reference** KS^m (1,4:2.14; 1,5:2.20); *agnīśómābhyām* TS^m (1,1.4.2 m; 1,1.5.1e; 1,1.8.1f) and VS ([M] 1,10 = [K] 1,3.6–7; [M] 1,13 = [K] 1,4.3; [M] 1,22 = [K] 1,8.2).

A striking contrast is shown between the group of MS^m and KS^m and the group of TS^m and VS: only the latter group names *agnīśóma-* (du.) as the principal deity to be offered Puroḍāśa beside *agní-* (sg.) and instructs to divide dough between Agni and Agni-Soma, whereas deities except for Agni are not clear in the former group.

Ex. 6.2. *amúṣmai* and *yásyai devātāyai* in the MS and KS

amúṣmai in the MS^m is considered to express an unspecified deity as is replaced by *yásyai devātāyai* in the corresponding brāhmaṇa MS^p 4,1.5:6.18–7 [Nirvapana], whereas “*amúṣmai vo juṣṭān*” is eliminated from the citation of the mantra:

“devāsya vah savitūh prasavè ... agnáye vo jūṣṭān nirvapāmi-” ṣi. savitṛprasūta evāinān devātābhir nirvapaty. “yácchantu páñce-” ṣi. páñca vā ṛtāva. ṛtūn vā etát prīṇāti. tè ṣmai prūṭāḥ kalpante. “gopīthāya vo nārātayā-” ṣi. rákṣasām āpahatyāi. “agnáye vo jūṣṭān” iti. agnáya evāinān juṣṭān karoti. átho yásyai devātāyai nirvápati tásyā enān juṣṭān karoti.

[One says] “At the god Savitṛ’s urging, ... **For Agni**, I take out you which are agreeable.” Urged by Savitṛ, indeed, one takes out them (the grains) **together with the deities (pl.)**. “Let the five [fingers] hold.” The five is, verily, the seasons. One pleases, verily, the seasons in this way. They (seasons), pleased, arrange [grains] for this one. “For protection, you (grains), not for hostility”. For warding off the evils. “**For Agni**, I take out you which are agreeable.” For Agni, indeed, one makes them agreeable. And then (in addition to Agni), **for the deity (sg.)** for which one takes out [grains], for that (deity) one makes them (grains) agreeable.

≈ MS^p 4,1.6:7.16–18 [Prokṣa] “*agnāye vo jūṣṭān*” *ity. agnāya evāinān jūṣṭān karo-*
ty. ātho yāsyai devatāyāi prokṣāti tāsya enān jūṣṭān karoti.

[One says] “**For Agni**, [I sprinkle water on] you (pl.) agreeable”. For Agni, indeed, one makes them (the grains) agreeable. And then (in addition to Agni), **for the deity** to which one sprinkles water [on grains], for that (deity) one makes them agreeable.

In the KS, the mantras (KS^m 1,4:2.14; 5:2.20) refer only to Agni, most probably with the intention to treat the new moon sacrifice alone as the solid basis of the Iṣṭi. In the prose-portion, however, *agnāye* is replaced by *amuṣmai* in the cited mantras and *amuṣmai* is explained in the same way as in the MS^p.

KS^p 31,3:4.12–14 “*devasya tvā savituh prasava*” *iti. savitrprasūta evainad devatābhyo nirvapaty. “amuṣmai juṣṭam” iti. yasyā eva devatāyāi nirvapati tasyā enaj juṣṭam karoti.*

[One says] “At the god Savitṛ’s urging ... you (sg.) ...”. Urged by Savitṛ, indeed, one takes that out **for deities (pl.)**. “**For So-and-So** agreeable”. **For the deity** to which one takes out, indeed, for that (deity) one makes that agreeable”.

KS^p 31,4:5.2–4 “*devasya tvā savituh prasava*” *iti. savitrprasūta evainad devatābhyo prokṣaty. “amuṣmai juṣṭam” iti. yasyā eva devatāyāi prokṣāti tasyā enaj juṣṭam karoti.*

[One says] “At the god Savitṛ’s urging ... you (sg.) ...”. Urged by Savitṛ, indeed, he sprinkles water on that **for deities (pl.)**. [The priest says] “**for So-and-So** agreeable”. **For the deity** to which he sprinkles water, for that (deity) he makes that agreeable.

It is inferred that *amuṣmai* and its explanation with a relative sentence was taken from the MS^{mp} into the KS^p in order that the latter could be applied for both the new and full moon sacrifices.

Remarkable is *devatābhyo* (dat. pl.) ‘for more than three deities’ in the KS^p instead of *devatābhir* (instr. pl.) ‘together with more than three deities’, i.e., Savitṛ, Aśvin (du.) and Pūṣan, in the MS^p. The former indicates that the Proḍāśa is prepared not only for Agni, but also at least two other deities. This is in accord with the number of kapālas (eight, eleven and twelve) in the MS^p and KS^p (→ Ex. 6.2.) and the deities in the Yajamāna’s Anumantraṇa of the KS^{mp} (→ Ex. 6.4.). It is concluded hence that the Puroḍāśa was offered, indispensably to Agni in the Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa, most probably to *agnīśōma-* in the Pūrṇamāsa, and to more than one from *indrāgni-*, *indra- vimṛdhra-*, *indra- indriyāvanta-* at the stage of the prose-portion of the KS.

Mantras with the expression *amuṣmai* are not rarely found in the YV, also for other rituals. In the new and full moon sacrifices of the Gṛhya type (→ 1.3., fn. 33, fn. 34), we meet similar mantras with *amuṣmai* for preparing *odanā-* ‘porridge of rice or barley’ for variable deities such as Agni, Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, and others the Yajamāna wishes, e.g., ĀśvGS 1,10.6. ... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam nirvapāmīti*; 7 ... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam prokṣāmīti*; 10 ... *idam amuṣmā idam amuṣmā iti*; Gobhila-GS 1,7.3 *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam nirvapāmīti*; KhGS 2,1.9 ... *amuṣmai tvā juṣṭam*

nirvapāmīti, 23 ... *amuṣmai svāheti juhuyād yaddevatyam*. ŚāṅkhGS 1,3.4f. (4. *devatās copāṁśuyājendramahendravajram*; 5. *kāmyā itarāḥ*) states clearly that the deities are freely chosen by the Yajamāna except those for Upāṁśuyāja, Indra and Mahendrā.

The above-mentioned state of the mantra- and prose-portion of the MS and KS leads us to conjecture that, except Agni and Indra, the deities for the Darśapūrṇamāsau are flexible and selectable according to the Yajamāna's wish. In other word, the Darśapūrṇamāsau, especially the Pūrṇamāsa, present a character akin to the Kāmeṣṭi. This character accords well with a long list of deities in the Yajamāna's Anumantraṇa of the KS (→ Ex.6.4.), but fades out from the TS and TB onward in parallel with systematization of the whole ritual on the basis of the Indra's myth.

Ex. 6.3. The number of kapālas used for baking the Puroḍāśa

The size of a cake is expressed by the number of *kapāla*- (→ fn. 21) on which a cake is baked. In the brāhmaṇas of the Darśapūrṇamāsau, the number of kapālas is mentioned: eight, eleven or twelve in MS^p 4,1.8:10.4–9 ≈ KS^p 31,6:7.10–15 = KapS^p 47,6; every number from eight to twelve in TS^p 3,2.7. Among these numbers, the importance of eight is emphasized: Prajāpati made his skull out of eight kapālas; therefore, a cake baked on eight kapālas offered in the Darśapūrṇamāsau becomes Yajamāna's self (*ātmān*-) in yonder world. Deities and numbers of kapālas are not combined in these texts, but the eight-kapāla-cake is a well-known typical oblation for Agni in the YV. This passage shows that maximum three sizes of cakes are used in the Darśapūrṇamāsau at the prose stage of the MS and KS.

Ex. 6.4. Yajamāna's Anumantraṇa in the KS and TS

In the KS^{mp} and TS^{mp}, the Anumantraṇa recited by the Yajamāna at the main offerings (from the Ājyabhāga to the Agnisviṣṭakṛt) of the Darśapūrṇamāsau¹⁵⁹ enumerate the deities in order of offerings: in the KS, *agnīṣoma*- (du.)¹⁶⁰, *agni*-¹⁶¹, *dabdhī*-¹⁶²,

¹⁵⁹ KS^m 5,1:44.5–45.2 [Yajamāna] and KS^p 32,1:18.13–20.3 [do.], cf. MānVŚS 1,4.2; TS^m 1,6.2.3f. [Aiṣṭikam Yajamāna, Havirhoma] ~ 1,6.4.1f. and TS^p 1,6.11.5ff. [do.], cf. ĀpŚS 4,9.

¹⁶⁰ For the Ājyabhāga (du.) 'two oblations of butter', the first oblation to Agni, the second to Soma.

¹⁶¹ For a cake baked on eight kapālas common to the Darśa and the Pūrṇamāsa.

¹⁶² For the Upāṁśuyāja 'oblation of butter with mantras uttered in a low voice'. The deity is *dabdhī*- or *dābdhī*- 'deception (?)' in the Anumantraṇas of the KS and TS as well as BaudhŚS 3,18 against Prajāpati in the Puroṇuvākya and Yājyā of TB^m 3,5.7.1f. In later Śrautasūtras, e.g., ĀpŚS 2,19.12–20.1, this oblation is offered only in the Pūrṇamāsa to Prajāpati, Viṣṇu or Agni-Soma.

agnīṣoma- vṛtrahaṇa- (du.)¹⁶³, *indrāgni-* (du.)¹⁶⁴, *indra-*¹⁶⁵, *mahendra-*¹⁶⁶, *indra-vimṛdha-*¹⁶⁷, *indra- indriyāvant-*,¹⁶⁸ *sarasvatī-*¹⁶⁹, *pūṣan-*, *aditi-*, *viśva- deva-* (pl.), *dyāvāpṛthivī-* (du.)¹⁷⁰, *agni- sviṣṭakṛt-*¹⁷¹; in the TS, the deities are reduced to *agnīṣoma-*, *agnī-*, *dābdhi-*, *agnīṣoma*, *indrāgni-*, *indra-*, *mahendrā-*, *agni- sviṣṭakṛt-*. On the other hand, Prajāpati is explained as the chief deity of the Pūrṇamāsa in TS^p 2,5.2.7 (→ fn. 39, Ex. 7.2.) and Indra Vaimṛdha is offered subsidiarily Puroḍāśa in the Pūrṇamāsa in TS^p 2,5.3.1 (→ Ex. 7.2.). For *sarasvatī-*, *pūṣan-*, *aditi-*, *viśva- deva-* (pl.), a pot of porridge (*carū-*) is usually offered in the Kāmeṣṭis.

It is interesting that the chief deity of the Pūrṇamāsa is *agnīṣoma- vṛtrahaṇa-* (du.) in the KS, against *agnīṣoma-* in the TS. As to the chief deity of the Darśa, there are three options, namely *indrāgni-* (du.), *indra-*, *mahendra-* in the KS as well as TS just like TB 3,5.7.3f. [Puronuvākyā and Yājyā]. It is striking that worship of Indra-Agni (with a Puroḍāśa,) has already begun to appear in the KS. From the essential importance of the Dadhi and Sāmnāyā for Indra throughout the YV-Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas, it is presumed that the Puroḍāśa to Indra-Agni was first an ancillary offering to the Sāmnāyā to Indra (or Mahendra), then became predominant in the course of time, and finally replaced the latter in the Śrautasūtras (→ 1.3.).

Ex. 6.5. Yājyās and Anuvākyās (Puronuvākyās) for Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, Indra and Mahendra

It is peculiar to the Darśapūrṇamāsau in the Black YV-Samhitās (MS, KS, TS) that the concrete procedures of the main offerings, including the Yājyās and Anuvākyās (Puronuvākyās) recited by the Hotṛ, are not treated, although the Anumantraṇas recited by the Yajamāna are compiled both in the mantra- and prose-portion of the KS and TS.

The Yājyās and Puronuvākyās for Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, Indra and Mahendra, considered as the principal deities, are mentioned first in TB^m 3,5.7.2–4 in the frame of the whole ritual procedures of the Darśapūrṇamāsau. However, their parallels appear in the MS, KS and TS for offerings in other sacrifices, which are in most

¹⁶³ For a cake baked on eleven kapālas in the Pūrṇamāsa.

¹⁶⁴ For a cake baked on eleven (in the Kāmeṣṭis) or twelve kapālas (in the Varuṇapraghāsa and Sākamedha of the Cāturmāsyaṇi in the MS and KS; → Ex. 6.7.B) in the Darśa.

¹⁶⁵ For the Sāmnāyā in the Darśa.

¹⁶⁶ Optionally instead of Indra for the Sāmnāyā in the Darśa.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. oblations of a cake baked on eleven kapālas in the Kāmeṣṭis (Caland Nr.137, 138, 141).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. oblations of a cake baked on eleven kapālas in the Kāmeṣṭis (Caland Nr.123, 130, 131, 141).

¹⁶⁹ Porridge (*carū-*) is usually offered for *sarasvatī-*, *pūṣan-*, *aditi-*, *viśva- deva-* (pl.) in the Kāmeṣṭis.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. oblations of a cake baked on two kapālas in the the Kāmeṣṭi and other rituals.

¹⁷¹ For a butter-oblation which concludes the main offerings.

cases Iṣṭis such as an Iṣṭi ancillary to Ādhāna, various Kāmyeṣṭis, Varuṇapraghāsa and Sākamedha of Cāturmāsyaṇī, Sautrāmaṇī. As to Mahendra, the parallels are found all in the Agniṣṭoma, basic type of the Soma sacrifice, which suggests that the worship of Mahendra was taken from the Soma-sacrifice to the Darśa.

Pronuvākya + Yājyā for **Agni-Soma** TB^m 3,5.7.2: RV 1,93.9+5; MS^m 4,10.1:144.12–15 [Iṣṭi ancillary to Ādhāna, Kāmyeṣṭis] ≈ KS^m 4,16:42.20–43.2 [ibid.]; TS^m 2,3.14.1f. (g.h.) [Kāmeṣṭis].

Puronuvākya for **Indra-Agni** TS^m 3,5.7.3: RV 3,12.9; SV 2,10.4.3; MS^m 4,10.4:152.13 [Varuṇapraghāsa]; 4,11.1:159.1 [Kāmeṣṭi]; KS^m 4,15:39.15f. [Kāmeṣṭi]; TS^m 4,2.11.1a [Varuṇapraghāsa] = 3.13.8cc [(Pratīka) Sākamedha].

Yājyā for **Indra-Agni** TS^m 3,5.7.3: RV 6,60.1; MS^m 4,10.5:155.11 [Sākamedha]; 4,11.1:159.3 [Kāmeṣṭi]; KS^m 4,15:39.17f.; TS^m 4,2.11.1 b [Varuṇapraghāsa] = 3.13.8cc [(Pratīka) Sākamedha].

Puronuvākya for **Indra** TB^m 3,5.7.3f.: RV 1,8.1; AV 20,70.17; SV 1,129; MS^m 4,12.3:184.13 [Kāmeṣṭi]; KS^m 8,17:103.19; TS^m 3,4.11.3f. [Kāmeṣṭi].

Yājyā for **Indra** TB^m 3,5.7.4: RV 10,180.1; MS^m 4,12.3:184.14 [Kāmeṣṭi]; 4,14.18:248.17 [only the 1st pāda]; KS^m 38,7:109.1f. [Sautrāmaṇī]; KS^m 10,12:140.16; TS^m 3,4.11.4m [Kāmeṣṭi]; TB^m 2,6.9.1e [Sautrāmaṇī].

Puronuvākya for **Mahendra**: RV 8,6.1; AV 20,138.1; SV 2,657; MS^m 1,3.24:38.9 [Agniṣṭoma, Graha for Mahendera]; KS^m 4,8:xxx [do.]; KapS^m 3,6 [do.]; TS^m 1,4.20.1 [do.]; VS 7,40; 23,27; ŚB 4,3.3.18 [do.]; TS^m 3,5.7.4 [Darśa].

Yājyā for **Mahendra** TS^m 3,5.7.4: RV 6,19.1; MS^m 1,3.25:38.12 [Agniṣṭoma, Graha for Mahendera]; KS^m 4,8:34.11 [do.]; KapS^m 3,6:36.15 [do.]; TS^m 1,4.21.1 [do.]; VS 7,39; ŚB 4,3.3.18 [Agniṣṭoma, Soma-Graha for Mahendera].

Ex. 6.6. Offering to Agni-Soma in other rituals

The Yājyā and Anuvākya/Puronuvākya at the offering to Agni-Soma seem consistently RV 1,93.9 and 5 (→ Ex. 6.5.) in the Pūrṇamāsa as well as other rituals. The oblation for Agni-Soma in the Śrauta-rituals is usually an eleven-kapāla-cake (*ēkādaśakapāla-puroḍāśa-*), sometimes an eight-kapāla-cake (*aṣṭākapāla-*; s. below B).

A) Iṣṭis ancillary to Ādhāna in the MS and KS

According to MS^p 1,6.8:98.12–100.2, immediately after the Agnyādhāna (at the new or full moon), various Iṣṭis are performed: each an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni Pavamāna, to Agni Pāvaka and to Agni Śuci; then subsidiarily, an **eleven-kapāla-cake** to Agni-Viṣṇu, porridge to Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa, porridge in butter for Aditi; lastly an eleven-kapāla-cake (*ēkādaśakapāla-puroḍāśa-*) to **Agni-Soma** (ibid.:99.12–16). Though Yājyās and Anuvākya are not mentioned here, MS^m 4,10.1:144.12–15 (RV 1,93.9 and 5; → Ex. 6.5) are considered to be applied to this offering to Agni-Soma.¹⁷²

¹⁷² S. Dharmadhikari 1989: 474 (to MS^m 4,10.1); Krick 1982: 462f. Anm. 1692 (cf. also p. 487f.).

By contrast, KSp 8,10:94.1–5 (\approx KpS 7,6.6:90.15–96.4) provides offering porridges to Aditi at the new moon and an **eleven-kapāla-cake** to **Agni-Soma** at the full moon.

ādityai ghr̥te carum amāvāsyāyām paśukāmo 'nunirvaped. ... 'gnīṣomīyam ekādaśa-kapālaṃ pūrṇamāse 'nunirvaped. āgneyo vai brāhmaṇo devatayā somarājā. ...

If one desires cattle, one should subsidiarily offer (orig. take grain out of a cart) porridge cooked in butter to Aditi at the new moon (in the daytime following the night of lunar conjunction). ... He should subsidiarily offer an eleven-kapāla-cake to Agni-Soma. Verily, the brahmin belongs to Agni, with regard to the deity, [he] has Soma as king.¹⁷³ ... (An explanation of the origin of the Ājyabhāgau for Agni and Soma follows.)

It is remarkable that the oblation of an eleven-kapāla-cake to Agni-Soma takes place at the full moon in the KS^p, just like a forerunner of the Pūrṇamāsa after the TS onward. Agni-Soma is considered as a dual deity for the Brahmin here and in the Kāmyeṣṭis, s. just below B). Cp. **agnīṣoma- vṛtrahaṇa-** (du.) in the Yajamāna's Anumantraṇa in the KS^{mp} (\rightarrow Ex. 6.4).

B) Kāmyeṣṭis (\rightarrow Ex. 6.5.): Caland Nr.32, Nr.34, Nr.35, Nr.36

The offering to Agni-Soma is made in four Kāmyeṣṭis according to Caland (Nr. 32, 34, 35, 36). The Yājyā and Anuvākya are the same as those in the Pūrṇamāsa (RV 1,93.9 and 5; \rightarrow Ex. 6.5).

Three Iṣṭis (Caland Nr.34¹⁷⁴, Nr.35¹⁷⁵ and Nr.36¹⁷⁶), all common to MS, KS and TS, consist of an offering to Agni-Soma alone and performed by the Brahmin for his priestly profit. The close relationship between Agni-Soma and the brahmin is remarkable. The Oblation is as usual an eleven-kapāla-cake of rice or barley in Nr.34 and Nr. 35. In Nr. 36, however, a cake is made of millet (*śyāmākā-*) and offered in spring. Noteworthy is the size of the cake: **eleven kapālas** (*ekādaśakapāla-*) in MS^p 2,1.4:5.17–6.5¹⁷⁷ against **eight kapālas** (*aṣṭākāpāla-*) in KS^p 10,2:126.13–21 and TS^p 3,3.3–4.

The “Saṃgrāmaṃ Jigīṣata Iṣṭi” (Iṣṭi of that who want to win in a battle: Nr.32) for Agni-Soma and the “Saṃgrāmaṃ Jitveṣṭi” (Iṣṭi after having won in a battle: Nr.33) for Indra-Agni (\rightarrow Ex. 6.7.A), combined with Indra's myth of smiting Vṛtra with a Vajra, form a pair like the Pūrṇamāsa and the Darśa. The former (Nr.32) is performed with three offerings: an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni, an **eleven-kapāla-cake** to **Agni-Soma** (for invigorating Indra) and a two-kapāla-cake to Heaven-Earth

¹⁷³ Cf. Krick 1989: 487 “Die Brahmanen (pl.) Gehören ihrer Gottheit nach Agni zu und haben Soma als ihren König”. In KpS^p 7,6.6:914, separation of sentences is different: *āgneyo vai brāhmaṇo | devatayā somarājā |*. For the bahuvrīhi compound *sōma-rājan-/sōma-rājajñī-* in the RV, AV, MS, TS, s. Graßmann s.v. and VWC s.v.

¹⁷⁴ MS^p 2,1.4:5.6–8 \sim KS^p 10,2:126.11–13; TS^p 2,3.3.3.

¹⁷⁵ MS^p 2,1.4:5.8–17 \sim KS^p 10,2:126.3–11; TS^p 2,3.3.1–3.

¹⁷⁶ MS^p 2,1.4:5.17–6.5 \sim KS^p 10,2:126.13–21; TS^p 3,3.3–4.

¹⁷⁷ To be corrected is Amano p. 442 “einen Achtschalen[-Opferkuchen] aus Hirse”.

(*dyāvapṛthivī*⁻) who consented to use the Vajra. After the Victory, the latter (Nr.33) is performed: an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni, an **eleven-kapāla-cake** to **Indra-Agni** (for recovering Indra) and a two-kapāla-cake to Heaven-Earth. It attracts our attention that both are transmitted only in the Maitrāyaṇīya school,¹⁷⁸ as if both have been absorbed into the Pūrṇamāsa and the Darśa after the TS onward.

Ex. 6.7. Offering to Indra-Agni (and Indra alone) in other rituals

A) Kāmyeṣṭis

Indra-Agni is a popular binary deity of the Kāmyeṣṭis and offered usually an eleven-kapāla-cake for various purposes, mostly related with battles, with various Yājyās and Anuvākyās, alone or together with other deities.¹⁷⁹ As cited above Ex. 6.6.B., a remarkable resemblance is observed between the “Saṃgrāmaṃ Jitveṣṭi” (Iṣṭi after having won in a battle: Nr.33) for Indra-Agni and the Darśa.

B) Cāturmāsyāni

In the YV, the Cāturmāsyāni are treated as an independent Iṣṭi as well as an Iṣṭi incorporated into the Rājasūya. The former presents its older form. In the MS and KS, the Śunāsīrya which becomes the last Parvan from the TS onward, is treated as an ancillary offering to the Cāturmāsyāni performed in the Rājasūya.

In addition to the five fundamental oblations¹⁸⁰ common to all the Parvans of the Cāturmāsyāni (→ 1.1., fn. 7), a cake is offered to Indra-Agni in Varuṇapraghāsa-parvan, Sākamedha-parvan and Śunāsīrya-parvan. Curiously, the size of the cakes differs among the schools: [Varuṇapraghāsa] a **twelve-kapāla-cake** in the MS and KS against an **eleven-kapāla-cake** in the TS; [Sākamedha] a **twelve-kapāla-cake** in the MS against an **eleven-kapāla-cake** in the KS and TS; [Śunāsīrya] a **twelve-kapāla-cake** to Indra-Agni together with a **twelve-kapāla-cake** to **Indra Śunāsīra** in the TS.¹⁸¹ The variation of cake sizes between eleven and twelve could assumably reflect the process of introducing the Puroḍāśa to Indra-Agni into the Cāturmāsyāni, most probably from the Kāmeṣṭis.

With regard to the oblation to Indra, a striking contrast is exhibited between a **pot of porridge (carú-)** to **Indra** in the Sākamedha-parvan of the Cāturmāsyāni, independent as well as belonging to Rājasūya, and **Dadhi or Sāṃnāyya** to **Indra**

¹⁷⁸ MS^p 2,1.3:4.14–21; MānvŚS 5,1.5.65–68, 25, 26.

¹⁷⁹ For the Iṣṭis composed of a single offering to Indra-Agni, s. Caland Nr.1–8.

¹⁸⁰ An eight-kapāla-cake to Agni; porridge for Soma; a twelve-kapāla-cake to Savitṛ; porridge for Sarasvatī; porridge for Pūṣan.

¹⁸¹ For Varuṇapraghāsa, *dvādaśakapāla aindrāgnó* in MS^p 1,10.1:140.11f. [list of oblations of the whole Cāturmāsyāni]; MS^p 1,10.10:150.14 [Cāturmāsyāni] ≈ KS^p 9,4:107.5 [Rājasūya] against *aindrāgnám ékādaśakapālam* (acc.) TS^p 1,8.3 [Rājasūya]. For Sākamedha, *aindrāgnó dvādaśakapālo* MS^p 1,10.1:141.2 (the size is not mentioned MS^p 1,10.16:156.2ff. [Cāturmāsyāni]) against *aindrāgná ékādaśakapālah* KS^p 9,5:108.7f. [Cāturmāsyāni] ≈ TS^p 1,8.4.2 [Rājasūya]. *indrāya śunāsīrya puroḍāśaṃ dvādaśakapālam ... nīr vapati... aindrām dadhi...* TS^p 1,8.7.1 [Rājasūya].

Śunāsīrya in the Cāturmāsyaṇi inside the Rājasūya: MS^p 2,6.3.3:64.18 *aindrām dadhī* ~ KS^p 15,2:210.15 *aindraṁ sānnāyyam*; TS^p 1,8.7.1 *aindra dadhī*. The relation among the Cāturmāsyaṇi, Darśapūrṇamāsau and Kāmyeṣṭis need further elucidation; cf. the explanation of Sāṃnāyya in the Cāturmāsya-brāhmaṇa of the MS and KS (→ Ex.7.3.).

Ex. 6.8. Indra-Agni and Agni-Soma in the Agnyupasthāna

Agni-Soma and Indra-Agni, as a pair or separately, play important roles in the Agnyupasthāna performed daily (evening and morning in the MS, only evening in other texts) by the Āhitāgni.

Common to all the YV mantras and brāhmaṇas, the fire-worship with a Ṛc for Indra-Agni *aindrāgnī-* [ṛc-]¹⁸² consists in the core of the daily Agnyupasthāna after the evening Agnihotra. It is a common conception that *indrāgnī-* ‘Indra and Agni in fusion’ signifies the sun (Indra) having entered into the Āhavanīya (Agni) and staying together overnight; next morning, the sun (Indra) rises from Āhavanīya (Agni) (→ 2.1, fn. 45).¹⁸³

The fire-worship with a Ṛc for Agni-Soma *agnīṣomīyā* [ṛc-] (RV 1,93.1 = MS^m 1,5.1:67.3f.) is much less popular in the Agnyupasthāna. The MS alone records this Ṛc, which belongs to the same sūkta as the Yājyā and Puroṇuvākya for Agni-Soma (RV 1,93.5 and 9; → Ex. 6.5).

At the first Agnyupasthāna of each year, which revitalizes the sacrificial fires, both Indra-Agni and Agni-Soma are worshipped according to the MS^p. Indra-Agni is explained as expiration and inspiration, i.e., vital functions in MS^p 1,5.6:74.6f.

¹⁸² RV 6,60.13; MS^m 1,5.1:65.10f.; KS^m 6,9:59.1f.; KapS 4,8; TS^m 1,5.5.1f.(e); VS 3,13; [brāhmaṇa] MS^p 1,5.5:73.11–13 ≈ KS^p 7,4:65.20–66.2 ≈ KpS^p 5,3:62.7 ≈ ŚB 2,3.4.12 ≠ TS^p 1,5.7.2.

¹⁸³ MS^p 1,5.5:73.11–13 *ubhā vām indrāgnī āhuvādhyā ity. ubhāu hy ètau sahā- mūm vā ayām divā bhūte prā viṣati. tasmād asāu divā rocata. imām asāu naktam. tasmād ayām naktam.* “[The Āhitāgni recites] ‘In order to call you both hither, Indra and Agni, ...’ (MS^p 1,5.1:65.10f. = RV 6,60.13; → fn. 184). Both (Indra and Agni) are namely together. This (fire: Agni) enters that (the sun: Indra) when the day breaks. Therefore that (the sun: Indra) shines by day. That (the sun: Indra) enters this (earth: f. *imām*) by night. Therefore this (fire: Agni) [shines] by night” (→ fn.45); KS^p 7,4:66.1 (= KpS^p 5,3:62.7f.) *sūryo vā indras. so ’gnim naktam praviṣaty.* “Indra is verily the sun. He enters the fire by night” (→ fn.45); ŚB 2,3.4.12 *āthaindrāgnī* (Weber’s correction: *-indrāgnī*). | *ubhā vām indrāgnī āhuvādhyā ... || ity. eṣā vā indro yā eṣa tāpati. sā yād astām èti tād āhavanīyam praviṣati. tād ubhāv evāitāt sahā sántā upatiṣṭhata. ubhāu me sahā sántau dattām iti. tasmād aindrāgnī.* || “Then the ṛc belonging to Indra-Agni [is recited]: ‘In order to call you both hither, Indra and Agni, ...’. Verily, this one who heats, this is Indra. When he goes home (sets), then [he] enters Āhavanīya. Thus, [the Āhitāgni] pays homage to both (Indra and Agni) being together, thinking that let both, being together, give me. Therefore, the ṛc belonging to Indra-Agni [is recited].” On the other hand, TS^p 1,5.7.2 *ubhā vām indrāgnī āhuvādhyā ity āhāu- jo bālam evāva runddhe.* | “[The Āhitāgni recites] “In order to call you both hither, Indra and Agni, ...”. He encloses for himself indeed vigor (*ōjas-*) and power (*bāla-*) as result”. Cf. just below MS^p 1,5.6:74.6f.: Indra-Agni represent expiration and inspiration, i.e., vital functions.

(→ fn. 183 TS^p 1,5.7.2), whereas Agni-Soma plays an ancillary role as the 13th month, which completes a solar year in MS^p 1,5.6:74.17.

On the other hand, Agni-Soma is daily worshipped in the waxing half-moon and Indra-Agni in the waning half-moon in the MS (most probably in the morning) and KS (in the evening). Agni-Soma and Indra-Agni represent the waxing and waning half-month (MS^p 1,5.7:75.10–12) or the full and new moon (KS^p 7,5:66.13–18) respectively.¹⁸⁴ It is noteworthy that the Agnyupasthāna is combined with the new and full moon sacrifices.¹⁸⁵

Ex. 6.9. Remarks on *agnīśōma*- and *indrāgni*-

In the RV, Indra and Agni, expressed as two single nouns or a dual compound (*indrā-agnī-/indrāgni*-), have close relations and both are offered Soma oblation.¹⁸⁶ It seems a natural development that the two benevolent gods, *indrāgni*- in the YV, were favoured by people and worshipped in the Kāmyeṣṭis and the Agnyupasthāna.

On the other hand, the compound *agnīśōma*- (du. with two accents) is attested much less often in the RV.¹⁸⁷ In the RV 10, a pair of independent deities “Agni and Soma (sap or plant)” which bring mankind prosperity are worshipped with oblations in the sacrifice. In the YV, *agnīśōma*- is changed to the fusion of Soma sap and the Āhavanīya fire, from which Vṛtra is generated in the Indra’s myth in the

¹⁸⁴ MS^p 1,5.7:75.10–12 *agnīśomīyayā pūrvapakṣā upasthēyas. agnīśomīyo vai pūrvapakṣās. aparapakṣāyaivainam paridadāti. aindrāgnyāparapakṣā upasthēyas. aindrāgnō vā aparapakṣāḥ. pūrvapakṣāyaivainam paridadāti.* “In the former half-month, [the sacrificial fire] is to be paid homage [by the Āhitāgni] with [the ṛc] for Agni-Soma (*agnīśomīyā*- MS^m 1,5.1:67.3f. = RV 1,93.1). **The former half-month, verily, belongs to Agni-Soma.** [The Āhitāgni] delivers this [fire] indeed to the latter half-month. In the latter half-month, [the sacrificial fire] is to be paid homage with [the ṛc] for Indra-Agni (*aindrāgnī*- MS^m 1,5.1:65.10f. = RV 6,60.13). **The latter half-month, verily, belongs to Indra-Agni.** [The Āhitāgni] delivers this [fire] indeed to the former half-month.” KS^p 7,5:66.13–18 *agnīśomīyayā pūrvapakṣa upatiṣṭhetā-. gñīśomayor vā etad bhāgadheyam yat paurṇamāsam. tābhyām evainam paridadāti. tā enam anapakrāmantau gopāyata. aindrāgnyāparapakṣa. indrāgnyor vā etad bhāgadheyam yad amāvāsyā. tābhyām evainam paridadāti. ...* “[The Āhitāgni] should pay homage to the sacrificial fire with [the ṛc] belonging to Agni-Soma. **What concerns the day of the full moon (*paurṇamāsa*- nt.sg.; *ahar-/ahan-*), this is the share of Agni-Soma** (du.). To these two, indeed, he delivers this (sacrificial fire). The two guard this (fire), not stepping away from it. [The Āhitāgni should pay homage to Agni (the sacrificial fire)] with [the ṛc] belonging to Indra-Agni. **What concerns Amāvāsyā night, this is the share of Indra-Agni** (du.).”

¹⁸⁵ For the relation among the Agnyupasthāna, Agnihotra and Darśapūrṇamāsa, s. Sakamoto-Gotō 2020: 189 (1.2.) with fn. 15a, 194–204 (2., 2.1., 2.2., 2.3), 216–220 (4.), 222–226 (6., 6.1., 6.2.).

¹⁸⁶ E.g., hymns for Indra-Agni 1,108; 109; 6,59–60, etc. Indra and Agni are not only friends and partners in activities, but also kins according to 6,59.1f., cf. Geldener, Gotō 2013a.

¹⁸⁷ 1,93.1–12 [hymn for Agniśoma]; 10,19.1; 10,66.7. *agnīśōma*- (du.) are identified with *punarvasu*- (du.), later one of the Nakṣatras, in 10,19.1 c (voc.) *āgnīśomā punarvasū*. Cf. further 1,93.6 ab *ānyām divo mātariśva jabhāra* | *āmāthnād anyām pāri śyenō ādreḥ* | “Mātariśvan has brought the one (Agni) from heaven. A hawk stole the other (Soma) from a rocky mountain”.

Traidhātav[i]ya and the Darśapūrṇamāsa (→ 1.3., fn. 19, Ex.7.1., 7.2.). The conception that a new being is generated by pouring the oblation (represented by Soma) into the sacrificial fire (Āhavanīya) is the leitmotif of the Five-Fire-Doctrine (ŚB, JB, BĀU, ChU).¹⁸⁸

The elucidation of the origin and development of the dual deities *agnīśoma*- as well as their counterpart *indrāgni*- is a task for the future.

Ex. 7. Transformation of the myth of Indra and Vṛtra in the YV

Ex. 7.1. A number of heroic deeds belonging to Indra are transmitted in the RV, most of which are considered to be of different origin, e.g., liberating cows from the Paṇis, freeing waters from Vṛtra, slaughtering Viśvarūpa having three heads, etc.

In the YV, some of them underwent special development: **(A)** slaughtering Viśvarūpa (Tvaṣṭṛ's son), **(B)** drinking Tvaṣṭṛ's Soma without invitation, **(C)** smiting Vṛtra with a Vajra and fleeing far into the distance. They are combined into one continuous story and extended with other episodes such as, **(D)** metamorphosis of Vṛtra, smitten asunder, into the moon, stars, belly, etc., which seems to be partly referred to in the RV 10,138.6 (→ 2.3., fn.62; 10,49.6 → fn.61), **(E)** the gods' searching for Indra who fled after having smitten Vṛtra, **(F)** Indra's loss of vigour/virility (*vīryā*-) (caused by drinking Soma without invitation or by smiting Vṛtra) and his recovery (by various kinds of oblations). This type of Indra's myth was further developed in later literature, e.g., Mahābhārata 5.9.1–18.9.

The most radical change is found in **(C)**: Vṛtra, a wild serpent (probably a cobra) enclosing waters in the RV, turned into an artificial monster which Tvaṣṭṛ, whose son was slaughtered by Indra, created as *indraśatru*- 'that which has Indra as his enemy' out of Soma sap poured into the Āhavanīya fire (→ fn.188). Soma and Agni in fusion (*agnīśoma*- du.) became the dual deity worshipped in the Agnyupasthāna and offered a cake (*puroḍāśā*-) in the Pūrṇamāsa as well as in the Kāmyeṣṭis (→ Ex. 6.1, 6.4., 6.5., 6.6., 6.8., 6.9.).

It is also noteworthy that **(F)** Indra's loss of virility (*vīryā*-) and his recovery play an essential role in most of the Iṣṭi-sacrifices.

Ex. 7.2. The above-mentioned episodes are used, partially or wholly, to give grounds for sacrificial acts:

[A Viśvarūpa + B Tvaṣṭṛ + F Indra's loss of vigour (by drinking Soma) and recovery] [Sautrāmaṇī] MS^p 2,4.1:38.1–39.3; KS^p 12,10:172.5–173.9; ŚB 5,5.4.2–8 (= 1,6.3.1–7 [Darśapūrṇamāsau] s. below), 12,7.1.1–14 [mainly on F] [Tivrasoma] (a kind of one-day soma sacrifice) JB 2,153–157.

[C smiting Vṛtra] [Sākamedha of the Cāturmāsyaṇi] MS^p 1,10.16:156.3–5

¹⁸⁸ Sakamoto-Gotô 2001: 159–162 (2.2.); 2000b: 248–251 (5.2., 5.3.).

(Puroḍāśa for Indra-Agni + **Caru** for Indra) ≈ KS^p 36,10:77.11–13; TB^p 1,6.7.5; ŚB 2,5.4.9.

[D Vṛtra's metamorphosis (→ 2.3., fn. 66, fn. 67)] [Rājasūya] MS^p 4,4.7:58.16f. (Vṛtra: *citrāṇi, nākṣatrāṇi*) ≈ TS^p 2,5.2.5 [Darśapūrṇamāsau] (s. below); MS^p 3,7.8:87.17 and 10.5:136.19–137.1 [Agniṣṭoma] (Soma plant); KS^p 12,3:165.1 [Traidhātavyā] (Soma sap); MS^p 2,4.4:41.18 [Traidhātavyā] ≈ TS^p 2,4.12.6 [Traidhātavyā] (Indra's belly); ŚB 1,6.3.17 [Pūrṇamāsau] (the moon and the belly of creatures on earth)..

[C smiting Vṛtra and Indra's fleeing, E the gods' searching for him, F Indra's loss of vigour (by smiting Vṛtra) and his recovery] various Kāmyeṣṭis (Caland Nr.32 and 33, Nr.144, Nr.137 and 138).

A pair of Kāmyeṣṭis MS^p 2,1.3:4.14–21 (Caland Nr. 32) and 2,1.3:4.21–5.5 (Nr. 33) present a remarkable similarity in the ritual structure, deities and oblations to the Pūrṇamāsau and the Darśa respectively. For the purpose of victory or conquest, the first Iṣṭi (Nr.32) is performed with oblations of an eight-kapāla-cake to Agni, an eleven-kapāla-cake to **Agni-Soma** and a two-kapāla-cake to Heaven-Earth; after the victory or conquest, the second Iṣṭi (Nr.33) with oblations of an eight-kapāla-cake for Agni, an eleven-kapāla-cake for **Indra-Agni** and a two-kapāla-cake for Heaven-Earth. The first Iṣṭi is combined with Indra's smiting Vṛtra by means of a Vajra with consent of Heaven and Earth, just as the Pūrṇamāsa, whereas the second is performed for Indra's recovery of vigour (*ójas-*) and manliness (*vīryā-*) after having smitten Vṛtra, just as the Darśa.

Interesting is also the Iṣṭi MS^p 2,2.11:24.5–7 (Nr.144): offerings an eleven-kapāla-cake each to Indra Vajrin, Indra Vṛtrahan and Indra Vṛtratūr, when one's rival preforms a Soma sacrifice.

Kāmyeṣṭis MS^p 2,2.10:23.14f. ~ KS^p 10,9:135.14–136.2 ~ TS^p 2,2.7.4f. (Caland Nr.137 and 138) with an oblation of **eleven-kapāla-cake to Indra Vaimṛdha** (KS^p Vimṛdha) are integrated into the Darśapūrṇamāsau in TS 2,5.3.1, s. just below.

[B Tvaṣṭṛ + C smiting Vṛtra + D Vṛtra's metamorphosis] [Traidhātavyā] (a Kāmyeṣṭi with offering of three layers of cake baked on 12 kapālas for Indra-Viṣṇu; Caland Nr.178)¹⁸⁹ MS^p 2,4.3–4:40.4–42.14; KS^p 12,3–4:164.16–166.17; [Traidhātavyā] TS^p 2,4.11–12; [Traidhātavī] ŚB 5,5.5.1–9. The Traidhātavyā succeeds immediately the Sautrāmaṇī in the MS; Indra's episodes toled in both are closely united with each other. On the other hand, there is a strong resemblance in Vṛtra's story from his genesis to his metamorphosis between the Traidhātavyā (Traidhātavyā/Traidhātavī) and the Darśapūrṇamāsau (s. just below).

¹⁸⁹ Cf. the Kāmyeṣṭi of offering three layers of cake baked on eleven kapālas for three aspects of Indra, namely *indra- rājan-*, *indra- svārājan-* and *indra- adhirāja-*, but not referreing to the Vṛtra's story (Caland Nr.121).

[A + B + C + D + E + F Indra's loss of vigour (by smiting Vṛtra) and his recovery] Darśapūrṇamāśau TS^p 2,5.1-3 ~ ŚB 1,6.3-4 (ŚB 1,6.3.1-7 = 5,5.4.2-8 [Sautrāmaṇī], s. above).

- 1) The first part [A+B] serves as introduction and presents a close parallel to the version on Sautrāmaṇī in the MS, KS and ŚB, s. just above.
- 2) The middle part [C+D] explains the offerings in the Pūrṇamāsa, which lead to the success of smiting Vṛtra: an eleven-kapāla-cake for Agni-Soma, gifts to Heaven-Earth (Nakṣatras and variegated creatures from variegated snakeskin of Vṛtra's corpus → 2.3., fn. 61), subsidiary offering to Indra Vaimṛdhra and Indra Vṛtrahan. For example,

TS^p 2,5.2.3-5 (→ Ex. 7.4.)

tābhyām etām agnīśomīyām ekādaśakapālam pūrṇāmāse prāyachat. ... sā devātā vṛtrān nirhūya vātraghnam havīḥ pūrṇāmāse niravapad. ghnānti vā enaṃ pūrṇāmāsa ā || 4 || amāvāsyaṇ pyāyanti.... tāt samsthāpya vātraghnam havir vājram ādāya pūnar abhyāyata. té abrūtām dyāvāpṛthivī. mā prā hār. āvāyor vai śritā iti. té abrūtām. vāraṃ vṛṇāvahai. nākṣatravihitāhām asānīty asāv abravīc. citravihitāhām itīyām. tasmān nākṣatravihitāsāu citravihiteyām. ... || 5 || ... sā ābhyām eva prāsūta indro vṛtrām ahan. ...

For the two (Agni and Soma), [Indra] offered this eleven-kapāla-[*puroḍāśa*-] belonging to Agni and Soma at the full moon. ... After having called off the deities (vital functions) from Vṛtra, he (Indra) took out (grain from the cart into the bowl, i.e., prepared and offered) the oblation belonging to Vṛtrahan 'smiter of Vṛtra' (i.e., Indra) at the full moon. Verily, [the gods] smite this one (Vṛtra) at the full moon, make [it] swell at the new moon. ... After having accomplished the oblation belonging to Vṛtrahan, having taken the Vajra, [Indra] rushed (*āyata* med.; cf. Goto 1990: 1000 Anm.79) again toward [Vṛtra]. Then [the pair of] heaven and earth said: "Do not attack! [Vṛtra] is, verily, attached on us." They said: "We will choose the boon." "I will be provided with the stars (Nakṣatras)", said the yonder one (heaven). "[I will be] provided with the variegated (creatures)", said this one (earth). Therefore, the yonder one (heaven) is provided with the Nakṣatras, this one (earth) is provided with the variegated (creatures). ... Urged by the very these two (heaven and earth), Indra smote Vṛtra. ...

TS^p 2,5.3.1 (→ 1.3., fn. 23, 2.1., fn. 47)

indram vṛtrām jaghnivāmsaṃ mīdho 'bhī prāvepanta. sā etām vaimṛdhām pūrṇāmāse 'nūnirvāpyām apasyat. tān niravapat. tēna vai sā mīdhō 'pāhata. yād vaimṛdhāḥ pūrṇāmāse 'nūnirvāpyō bhāvati. mīdha eva tēna yājamānō 'pahate.

Over Indra having smitten Vṛtra, feelings of lassitude (pl. *mīdh-*)¹⁹⁰ came (on) trembling. He saw (discovered) this [*Puroḍāśa*] for removing lassitude (*vaimṛdhā-*), to be offered subsidiarily at the full moon. He took out (grain from the cart into the bowl, i.e., prepared and offered) the [*Puroḍāśa*]. By that, verily, he dispelled feelings of lassitude from himself (med.). When the Vaimṛdha [*Puroḍāśa*] to be offered subsidiarily

¹⁹⁰ Conventional interpretations "Kampf, Feind, Verachtung, Verächter, etc." are difficult from the meaning of *mardh/mṛdh* (*mārdh-a-*) 'be/become languid, inactive, etc., by tiredness' and f. pl. *mīdhas* in the RV as well as *mṛdhra-* and *mṛddhā-*, s. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015: 185-9, esp. 185-7 (7.1., Anm. 40, 7.2.1.[4]).

at the full moon is applied, the Yajamāna dispels from himself feelings of lassitude by that as a result. ...

- 3) The last part [E+F] treats the offerings in the Darśa for the purpose of making Indra recover his vigour lost by battle with Vṛtra: Puroḍāśa of eight kapālas for Agni and Dadhi as well as Sāṃnāyya for Indra. For example,

TS^p 2,5.3.1f. (→ 1.3., fn. 23, 2.1., fn. 47)

indro vṛtrām hatvā devātābhiḥ cendriyēṇa ca vyārdhyata. sā etām āgneyam aṣṭākapālam amāvāsyāyām apaśyad aindrām dādhi...

Indra, having smitten Vṛtra, was deprived of divinities (i.e., vital functions) and what characterizes Indra (*indriyā-*). He saw (discovered) this eight-kapāla [Puroḍāśa] for Agni in the Amāvāsyā night (and the following day), [and] Dadhi for Indra.

This paragraph is followed by explanations of the Sāṃnāyya (2,5.3.5f. → fn. 47), searching for Indra (2,5.4.6 → fn. 28) and the curdler for making Dadhi for Indra (→ Ex. 5).

Ex. 7.3. As mentioned above, the combination [E+F] serves to explain the oblation of Dadhi and Sāṃnāyya for Indra: Cāturmāsyāni MS^p 1,10.5:146.2–5 ≈ KS^p 36,1:68.5f.; Darśapūrṇamāsau TS^p 2,5.3.5 and 6f. (→ s. above; fn. 47 TS^p 2,5.3.5; fn. 21 TS^p 2,5.3.1f.) ~ ŚB 1,6.4.1–13.15.

It is curious, however, that Sāṃnāyya is explained first in the brāhmaṇa on the Cāturmāsyāni, in which Sāṃnāyya is not used; instead, *āmikṣā-* “another kind of ‘mixture’ of sour and cooked fresh milk” is offered to Viśve Devāḥ (Vaiśvadeva-parvan), Maruts and Varuṇa (Varuṇapraghāsa-p^o) in contrast to *carū-* ‘porridge’ for Indra or Mahendra (Sākamedha-p^o). Exceptionally, in the Cāturmāsyāni integrated into the Rājasūya, Dadhi or Sāṃnāyya is offered to **Indra Tūriya** immediately after the offering to Indra Śunāsīrya¹⁹¹: MS^p 2,6.3:14.18 *aindrām dādhi*; KS^p 15,2:210.5 *aindrām sānnāyym*; TS 1,8.7.1 *aindrām dādhi* (→ Ex. 6.7.B, fn. 192). Further, on the final day at the new moon during the Gavāmayana, the Sāṃnāyya is offered in TS^p 7,5.6.4; cf. *aidrā- dadhi-* in the succeeding section 5,7.2f. (→ fn. 23). For the relationship of Dadhi or Sāṃnāyya to the rituals other than the Darśapūrṇamāsau need further investigation.

As to the origin of Sāṃnāyya, there is a radical disaccord between the Black YV and ŚB. The former (MS^p, KS^p, TS^p) explains Sāṃnāyya from collecting Indra’s lost virility (*vīryā-*): After having smitten Vṛtra, Indra’s virility (MS/KS *vīryā-*, TS *indriyā-vīryā-*; implying the sense ‘semen/sperm’) dispersed from him on earth, then entered water, grass and trees (MS/KS) or became plants (TS). This virility was collected (*sam-nī*) by the gods (MS/KS) or by cattle under Prajāpati’s order (TS) and changed into milk, from which sour and cooked fresh milk are obtained and offered as Sāṃnāyya

¹⁹¹ Śunāsīrya counts as the fourth parvan of the Cāturmāsyāni after the TS onward.

to Indra for his recovery. In the ŚB, by contrast, Sāṃnāyya is generated independently of Indra: the moon Soma enters waters and plants on earth, changes himself into milk inside the cows, which is milked, curdled or cooked for Sāṃnāyya.¹⁹² Sāṃnāyya represents thus Indra's virility in the Black YV in opposition to Soma in the ŚB.

Ex. 7.4. The time of Indra's smiting Vṛtra¹⁹³ fluctuates between the new moon and the full moon in the YV. From the concept attested in the RV that the sun (Indra) captures or swallows the moon at the new moon (→ 2.2., 2.3., 3.2.3.), it is natural to consider that Indra smites the moon Vṛtra at the new moon. In the TS, however, Indra smites Vṛtra (the moon) at the full moon, which causes the moon's waning and disappearance, whereas the moon begins to swell at the new moon. In order to provide Indra with power of conquering Vṛtra, the oblation (*hāvis-*) to Indra *vṛtrahán-*, called *vārtraghna-*, is offered at the full moon with two *vārtraghnī* stanzas (*ṛc-*), whereas two *vṛdhanvatī* stanzas are recited at the new moon: **TS^p 2,5.2.4f.** (→ Ex. 7.2.)

sá devātā vṛtrān nirhūya vārtraghnam haviḥ pūrṇāmāse nir avapad. ghnānti vā enam pūrṇāmāsa ā || 4 || amāvāsyāyām pyāyanti. tasmād vārtraghnī pūrṇāmāse 'nūcyete vṛdhanvatī amāvāsyāyām. tát samsthāpya vārtraghnam havir vājram ādāya pūnar abhy āyata.

After having called off the deities (vital faculties) from Vṛtra, he (Indra) took out (grains from the cart into a bowl, i.e., prepared and offered) the oblation belonging to Vṛtrahan 'smiter of Vṛtra' (i.e., Indra) at the full moon. Verily, [the gods] smite this one (Vṛtra) at the full moon, make [it] swell at the new moon. Hence, [two stanzas (*ṛc-*)] containing the word *vṛtrahán-* (or *vṛtrá-* and *hán*) are recited (as Puroṇuvākya) at the full moon, [two stanzas] containing the verb *vṛdh* 'grow' at the new moon. After having accomplished the oblation belonging to the smiter of Vṛtra, having taken Vajra, he (Indra) rushed again toward [Vṛtra].

This paragraph is followed by the episode belonging to [D] that heaven and earth obtained the Nakṣatras and the variegated creatures respectively from Vṛtra's corpus (→ 2.3., fn. 61), s. above Ex. 7.2.

Although the oblation *vārtraghna-* at the full moon is the same, the time of smiting Vṛtra is set at the new moon in **ŚB 1,6.4.12f.**:

vārtraghnam vai paurnamāsám. | índro hy ètēna vṛtram áhann. áthaitád evá vṛtrahátyam yád āmāvāsyāṃ. vṛtram hy àsmā etáj jaghnūṣa āpyāyanam ákurvan. || 12 || tát vā etád evá vārtraghnam | yát paurnamāsám. áthaisá evá vṛtró yác candrámaḥ.

...

¹⁹² For this passage, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010: 1124 (3.4.); Nishimura 2016: 245–249. The development of the interpretation of the ŚB is found in Kāthaka-Saṃkalana II [Amā-brāhmaṇa] and ṢaḍvB 4(5).6.1–3: in the Amāvāsyā night, the last 16th part of the moon enters successively herbs, trees, cows, cattle, the sun (*āditya-*), the sacred formula (*brahman-* nt.sg.) and the brahmins (*brāhmaṇa-* m.pl.), by which all the gods stay overnight; the brahmins collect (*samṇayante*) the moon as Sāṃnāyya from herbs, trees, cows, cattle, the sun and the sacred formula.

¹⁹³ In the RV, Indra's smiting Vṛtra which enclosed waters is often associated with the thaw making water flow freely. Indra's swallowing the moon signifies the lunar conjunction with the sun (→ 2.3. RV 10,55.5 ~ ŚB 1,6.4.18–20).

12. The [oblation (*hāvis-*)] belonging to the full moon, verily, belongs to the smiter of Vṛtra (Indra), for Indra smote Vṛtra by this (oblation). On the other hand, when [the oblation] belongs to the Amāvāsyā night, this indeed is the act of smiting Vṛtra (*vṛtrahātya-*), for [the gods] made [Vṛtra] the means of swelling (i.e., food: *āpyāyana-*) for this one (Indra) having smitten Vṛtra. 13. In the case of [the oblation] belonging to the full moon, it is verily this very one belonging to the smiter of Vṛtra (Indra). On the other hand, **in the case of the moon (*candrāmāḥ*), this is indeed Vṛtra.** ...

Hereafter follows the episode of Indra's swallowing Vṛtra: **1,6.4.18–20** (→ 2.3).

Abbreviations

m	mantra-portion
p	prose-portion (= “ <i>brāhmaṇa-</i> ”) ¹⁹⁴
AiG	see Wackernagel–Debrunner
AitB	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
ĀpGS	Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra
ĀpŚS	Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra
ĀśvGS	Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra
ĀśvŚS	Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra
AV	Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā
AV(P)	Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā, Paippalāda-recension
AV(P)-K	Kashmir manuscript (Ed. Vishva Bandhu)
AV(P)-O	Orissa manuscripts (I: Zehnder; XX 1–30: Kubisch; s. below)
AV(Ś)	Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā, Śaunaka-recension
BĀU	Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad
BaudhŚS	Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra
BhārŚS	Bhāradvāja-Śrautasūtra
ChU	Chāndogya-Upaniṣad
EWAia	see Mayrhofer
HirGS	Hiranyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra
HirŚS	Hiranyakeśi-Śrautasūtra = Satyāśāḍha-Śrautasūtra
JB	Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa
KātyŚS	Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra
KauŚS	Kauśika-Sūtra
KauṣB	Kauṣṭhiki-Brāhmaṇa
KauṣU	Kauṣṭhiki-Upaniṣad
KhGS	Khādīra-Gṛhyasūtra
KS	Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā
KpS	Kapīṭhala-Kāṭha-Saṁhitā
MānŚS	Mānava-Śrautasūtra

¹⁹⁴ The term *brāhmaṇa* (*brāhmaṇa-*) is applied to the texts titled “-Brāhmaṇa” as well as the prose portions of the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās.

MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā
Nir	Yāska's Nirukta
PārGS	Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra
PW	see Böhlingk & Roth
RV	Ṛgveda
ṢaḍvB	Ṣaḍvimśa-Brāhmaṇa
ŚāṅkhGS	Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra
ŚāṅkhŚS	Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra
ŚB	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
ŚB (K)	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva-recension
ŚB (M)	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina-recension
st.	stanza
TA	Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka
TB	Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya-Saṁhitā
VādhAnv	Vādhūla(-Śrautasūtra)-Anvākhyāna
VaitS	Vaitāna-Sūtra
VārŚS	Vārāha-Śrautasūtra
VS	Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā
VWC	A Vedic Word-Concordance (s. Vishva Bandhu)
YV	Yajurveda-Saṁhitā (MS, KS, KpS, TS, VS) and -Brāhmaṇa (TB, ŚB)

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Sažetak

Žrtve pri mlađaku i uštapu temelj su vedskih obreda Iṣṭi, u kojima se prinose žitarice i mliječni prinosi. Velika važnost pridaje se žrtvi pri mlađaku, koja upravlja smrću i ponovnim rođenjem Mjeseca i čovječanstva. Ṛksamhitā 10,85 opisuje prinošenje žrtvenoga napitka Some pri polumjesečnoj i godišnjoj žrtvi pri mlađaku kao vjenčanje božice Sunca i boga Mjeseca u vrijeme ljetnoga solsticija. Potonji bi se mogao potjecati od ceremonije pri mlađaku neposredno nakon ljetnoga solsticija u kasnom 3. tisućljeću pr. Kr. U Yajurvedi, žrtva pri mlađaku radikalno se promijenila iz obožavanja Mjeseca u konjunkciji sa Suncem u obožavanje Indre kao ubojice Vṛtre, paralelno s preoblikovanjem mita o Indri. Glavni prinos bila je Sāmnāyā (mješavina kiselog mlijeka i kuhanog svježeg mlijeka) za Indru, ali je u Śrautasūtrama zamijenjena kolačem Puroḍāśom za Indru-Agnija. Pretpostavlja se da je ekspanzija Indoarijaca u istočni dio Indije otežala nabavu biljke Soma koja raste u polusušnim platinjskim područjima i uzrokovala zamjenu prinosa.

Medhótá šrávah I

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